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# BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADING MEMBERS OF MINORITY POLITICAL GROUPS IN CHINA

RVA OIR Report No. 4256

August 29, 1947

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The reports in this project on Members of Chinese Minority Groups concern Chinese liberals prominent in contemporary Chinese politics who are past or present members of the Democratic League or who are connected with various organizations which the league supports. Members of government organizations who are officially designated as "non-partisan" but who have never evidenced any disagreement with Kuomintang policy are considered outside the scope of this project. Whenever the material was sufficient to warrant, a rather full treatment has been given a member of a particular party in the Democratic League in order to aid further studies on these parties themselves.

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CHANG Chun-mai (Chang Chia-shen, Chang Chun-li, Carson Chang) CHINA

張君勱

Personal data: Born 1886, Paoshan, Kiangsu province; at present living in Shanghai; his wife died in April 1945; elder brother of Chang Kia-ngau (Chang Chia-ao) and Chang Kia-chu (Chang Chia-chu), prominent bankers.

Education: Middle school education at the Institute of Modern Languages, Shanghai; Waseda University, Tokyo, 1904-1909; passed the Hanlin examination to become Compiler of the College of Letters under the Manchu Government, 1909-1911; Berlin University, 1913-1915; studied Political Science in England, 1915-1916.

Languages: English and probably German.

Publications: Draft for the Chinese Constitution; Social Democracy in New Germany; A Treatise on China's Political Reconstruction, and many articles on philosophy.

Party affiliation: Democratic Socialist Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | Editor-in-Chief, Peking-Tientsin, Shih Pao. |
| 1912 | Secretary, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce; Editor, Young Nation and Associate Editor, The Justice. |
| 1916 | Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Chekiang province. |
| 1916-1925 | General Manager, The China Times, Shanghai. |
| 1925 | President, Institute of Self-Government, Woosung, near Shanghai. |
| 1928 | In Europe. |
| 1929-date | Leader, National Socialist Party (now the Democratic Socialist Party). |
| 1930 | Toured Europe lecturing on Chinese philosophy. |
| 1935 | Adviser to the Kwangsi Provincial Government. |
| 1937-1938 | National Socialist representative on the National Defense Advisory Council, August 1937-June 1938. |
| 1938-date | Resident member of the People's Political Council. |
| 1940 | Member, Border Relations Adjustment Committee. |
| 1941-1942 | Member, Presidium of the People's Political Council. |
| 1941 | Head, Cultural Institute of the National Socialist Party, Tali, Yunnan province. |
| 1945 | Delegate, Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, Hot Springs, Virginia, January; Delegate, World Security Conference, San Francisco, April. |
| 1945-1946 | Member, Central Executive Committee of the Democratic League. |
| 1946 | Democratic League Representative to the Political Consultative Conference (PCC) January. Democratic League Member, Committee to Draft the Constitution; Member, reorganized State Council, March; Member, Organization Committee of the reorganized Democratic Socialist Party. |
| 1947 | Elected to the Presidium of the Fourth People's Political Council, May. |

Remarks

CHANG Chun-mai (continued)

CHINA

Remarks:

Carson Chang, leader of the present Democratic Socialist Party, has been called "the epitome of the Chinese gentleman, who spends his time in scholarly pursuits". 1/ He is best known today as a liberal belonging to the group of Chinese minority parties and, until recently, as a member of the Democratic League.

Chang received his early training in political science and constitutional law which he studied in Germany and England. When the Chinese Revolution broke out in 1911 he was editor of a Peking-Tientsin paper. He played no very active part in the political developments of the next two decades but held several other editorial positions and a minor government post. In 1929, he was one of a group which met in Peiping to found the Chinese National Socialist Party (Kuo-chia She-hui Tang).

Other prominent persons present at this first meeting were: Chang Tung-sun, now secretary general of the Democratic League; Chang Yung, now a member of the PPC; Lo Wen-kan, former Chinese Foreign Minister; T'ang Hsiang-min, Navy Minister under Yuan Shih-k'ai; Chou Ching-lai, who went over to the Wang Ching-wei government; and Hsu Fu-lin, National Socialist Party leader in Hong Kong. Carson Chang, said to be the disciple of Liang Ch'i-chao, was elected chairman of the first Party Conference and at each of the subsequent party conferences he has been re-elected to the chairmanship. The Party's aims were said to be the establishment of democracy in China, the promulgation of a constituttion containing guarantees of individual freedom, and the abolition of one-party control. 2/

Since 1937 when the minority parties began to be represented on the newly-created advisory bodies of the Central Government, Chang has been the National Socialist member of such councils. In August 1937 he was one of the members of the National Defense Advisory Council set up as an advisory body subordinate to the newly-created Supreme National Defense Council. The members were prominent political leaders outside the Kuomintang and Communist Parties. The NDAC was short-lived. It lasted only from August 1937 to June 1938 but it formed the nucleus for the People's Political Council which first met in Hankow in 1938. Chang was made a resident member of this first PPC and has held this position in subsequent councils. In 1941 he was a member of the five-man Presidium but his name was dropped from the Presidium in 1942. 3/

In April 1938, prior to the convening of the PPC, there was published an exchange of letters between Carson Chang and the Generalissimo which gives some insight into Chang's view-point. His letter was written ostensibly to commend the Kuomintang on having directed the formation of a PPC at the recent meeting of the Central Executive Council, and therefore to pledge National Socialist Party support behind the Central Government war effort. Though it pledged whole-hearted support to the Kuomintang in carrying on the war, the letter was in effect a cautiously worded statement that there must be increased political liberty if national unity were to be achieved. Speaking of the Kuomintang's "professed desire to seek friendly cooperation with other political parties," Chang says that "this prompts him and his colleagues to reciprocate to the best of their abilities". Stressing the "traditional Chinese love for compromise and the golden mean", he quotes a proverb "toleration is productive of results" and adds that if the Kuomintang shows toleration to all other political parties "this can be without doubt a regeneration of the Chinese nation". He points out that in European countries, where democracy was practiced in times of peace, and the citizen's sense of

responsibility

CHANG Chun-mai (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

responsibility and his knowledge of practical politics increased, the citizens felt the need for central control in times of national emergency. For "authority has to be increased in order to attain administrative efficiency and to meet the pressing needs of an emergency." Therefore, civil liberties have to be increased in order "to cultivate in the individual citizen both the power to take the initiative and a sense of responsibility". Saying that he and his party were ready to discuss political problems with the leaders of the government and the Kuomintang in a "spirit of friendly cooperation", he wanted to point out that "at the present critical moment, nothing is more important than whole-hearted and unreserved support for the National Government". 4/

In 1939 Chinese liberals, desiring a political organization which could enlist the support of minority parties and groups to carry on the war, formed the United National Construction Association. Membership, open to parties and individuals, included about thirty members of the PPC. The Association's "articles of faith" accepted the Three People's Principles, but while subscribing to the "Nation above all" and supporting the Generalissimo's leadership, called for the immediate promulgation of a constitution, freedom of speech, a government of administrators removed from party politics, economic reforms and post-war planning. Carson Chang, as a member of the National Socialist Party and the PPC, was a member of the Association. In March 1940 when fighting broke out between Central Army and Eighth Route Army troops in Southwest Hopei, the Association had its first test as mediator between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The Association urged the formation of a committee for the regulation of inter-party relations. The motion was approved by the Generalissimo and passed by the PPC. The Border Relations Adjustment Committee was then set up with Chang among its eleven members. 4/ Its recommendations were on the whole favorable to the Communists though Chang was said to have issued a statement on "the important point of unification" in which he accused the Communists of promoting factionalism and preventing the development of national unity. 5/

In 1941 the United National Reconstruction Association was reorganized as the Federation of Democratic Parties, an organization which included the same minority parties with the exception of the National Salvationists. The new Federation's demands were essentially the same as those of the former Association but the Federation was now prepared to work underground. 12/ The propaganda center for Federation activities was then in Hong Kong but Chang seems to have had little actual connection with propaganda activities as, according to reports from the National Socialist representative in Hong Kong, he was a virtual prisoner in Yunnan province, said to be unable to get permits to travel about. 2/ At the time, however, he was heading the National Socialist Party's Cultural Institute in Tali, and the reports of his being unable to travel may have been somewhat exaggerated. The Cultural Institute was described as a research organization for graduate students with a two years' study program in Chinese classical thought and institutions as well as the political systems of foreign countries. 6/

In December 1944, Chang came to the United States to attend the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference held in Hot Springs, Virginia in January 1945. In March he was visiting his brother, Chang Kia-ngau in New York when he received Chungking's invitation to attend the San Francisco Conference as one of China's delegates. According to report, he at first refused the invitation not wishing to appear as a "stooge" for the Kuomintang. His reasons for later accepting were said to be that refusal would play directly into the Kuomintang's hands. He felt

that

Remarks (continued)

that the Kuomintang heretofore had accused the minority parties of refusing to accept responsibility when it came to them. 7/ Whatever Chang's motives for accepting the San Francisco appointment, he confided to an American source just before the Conference opened that he was pleased to receive some recognition "after a good many years of what could be called tolerated opposition", but that he was not overly optimistic as to his being able to assert himself at San Francisco. 8/ At the close of the Conference, he accepted a lecture appointment at the University of Washington thus remaining in the United States throughout the year. Reports in June 1945 indicated that Chang was staying out of China in order to avoid committing his party to following Kuomintang policy by attending the plenary session of the fourth PPC which opened in July and also to stay away from the groups of delegates meeting that summer and fall to discuss calling of a National Assembly. 9/

However, on his return to China he became a Democratic League representative to the Political Consultative Conference (PCC) held in January 1946 and a month later was appointed by the PCC a member of the Committee to Redraft the Constitution. When the Second Plenary Session of the fourth People's Political Council met in March 1946, the Democratic League refused to attend this Session. But while still officially a member of the League, Chang did attend the first few meetings though he stayed away from later meetings. 10/

In August 1946 the National Socialist Party merged with the Democratic Constitutional Party which had a large following among overseas Chinese. The newly formed Chinese Democratic Socialist Party was said to "advocate the realization of socialism through democratic means". Chang is a member of the Party's Organization Committee.

When the National Assembly finally convened in November 1946, no members from the minority parties were present but negotiatons were carried on between the Kuomintang and the Democratic Socialist and Youth Parties, which were soon brought into the Assembly. Chang's party refused to enter without committing to paper the conditions on which the terms of their entrance would be made. A second public exchange of letters between Chang and the Generalissimo similar to the one in 1938 took place stating that the Democratic Socialists could not take up their seats unless there be: "implementation of the cease-fire order, political settlement of disputes, a carrying out of the previously made promises for granting civil liberties and no further Kuomintang activties financed by government funds." 11/ Although little change in Kuomintang activity has been noted, the Democratic Socialists were apparently satisfied by the Generalissimo's reply that their conditions had been or were being met for they took up the forty seats alloted to them in the Assembly. Neither Carson Chang nor any other prominent members was among the delegates, 11/ and in later conversations with American sources he said that he was not altogether optimistic about the success of the meeting. 12/ The Democratic League steadily boycotted the meetings and in January 1947, Chang and his party were read out of the League for their action in attending. 22/

In January 1947 he was in Nanking talking over possible government reorganization with Sun Fo and the non-party representatives to the PPC. Though first reports indicated that he would not commit his party to participation in a coalition government, it was reported on February 11 that the Democratic Socialists would enter the reorganized government, which they did with Chang's approval in April. 14/ During a talk with

the

Remarks (continued)

the American Ambassador in January, Chang indicated that he himself did not wish to enter the government in any specific position since this would commit him to follow government policies. He preferred rather to become a member of the Legislative Yuan. Here he felt that he could be most useful in helping to formulate measures for the enforcement of the constitution. He also said that he wished to make a lecture tour of the country explaining the new constitution to the people. 13/

Since the start of declared civil war he has not given entire support to the government, stating that reform of present government machinery was essential to successful mobilization. 23/

Carson Chang advocates a mild form of evolutionary socialism with a program differing not radically from some of the expressed tenets of the Kuomintang. His Democratic Socialist Party stems from the Constitutionalist Monarchist Party of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao which prior to 1911 had opposed revolution but favored an evolutionary change by means of constitutional reform. In 1925, Liang's Progressive Party came out in opposition to the Kuomintang, accusing it of being Communist dominated. 2/ Writing in the National Socialist paper, Tsai Sheng in April 1946, Chang describes the objectives of his party, in rather vague terms, as an attempt to follow a middle course between Russian socialism and Anglo-Saxon democracy. Though he believes that eventually "capitalism must be done away with in China", he at present advocates "social reform according to a national plan" that none the less would recognize the right of private ownership. According to this plan heavy industry would be government-managed while light industry would be privately-owned. The nation must be "a democracy like England and the United States". This, he says, is in line with a recognition of the world's trend toward democracy--with the democracy of Russia an economic democracy and Anglo-Saxon democracy a political one. Realizing China's backward economic development, he sees it as expedient that she thus "follow the path towards socialism", for if China adopts the methods of free competition in industrial management, she will never be able to compete with other industrialized nations. 15/

Chang has consistently come out against one-party control and in favor of civil liberties. He has expressed this view in exchanges of letters with the Generalissimo and admitted it privately. In July 1945 while at San Francisco, both Chang and Li Huang, Chinese minority party delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, gave out public statements opposing the proposed Chinese National Assembly as then arranged, on the grounds that its delegates were elected under "one-party rule". Both men were then equally opposed to participation in the fourth People's Political Council. Li, however, was more critical of the Kuomintang and the Generalissimo than Chang, though the latter was called by "no means soft-spoken". 16/ In March Chang did attend the first few meetings of the PPC but Li abstained.

He took a strong stand on the question of post-war treatment of the Japanese, saying in a press interview in Chicago in the summer of 1945 that the Japanese Emperor must be "deposed and treated as a war criminal once he had served his purpose as a puppet ruler" and that "rigorous control must be exerted by the forces of occupation and the Japs must be made to feel the sting of defeat". 17/

Also in San Francisco in July 1945 he voiced his anxiety concerning the situation in China which he felt would lead to civil war and in time would effect the peace and order of the entire world. Chang was then willing to

be quoted

Remarks (continued)

be quoted to the effect that it was anomalous for China with her own house in chaos to expect to take a place at the peace table settling the affairs of other countries. He therefore advocated that the Allies, notably the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia, should declare that the situation in China was no longer a domestic issue and on this basis call an international conference to settle China's affairs and ward off the imminent possibility of civil war. 18/

Speaking from this country at the time of the signing of the Sino-Soviet treaty in August 1945, Chang reported that "the Chinese were said to be convinced that Russia had no territorial ambitions (he described the treaty as giving the USSR the former Czarist position in Manchuria) and that the arrangements of the treaty were not regarded as interference in Chinese internal affairs". 19/

Chang has been critical both of the Communists and of the Generalissimo though less critical of the latter than other members of the Democratic League. There have been several reports that he was being subsidized by the Kuomintang 2/ or was in the pay of the Generalissimo. 3/ These reports, which he himself stoutly denies, 18/ seem to stem from a Kunming despatch of 1941 indicating that following the incorporation of the National Socialist Party into the United National Reconstruction Association (in 1939) the party was given an annual subsidy by the government which is described as "similar in a small way to the assistance reportedly given the Communists". 6/

Personally Chang is considered to be honest, able and forthright. He is pleasant and does not impress his acquaintances as being fanatical or domineering. 6/ He is a man lacking in aggressiveness and force, a scholar rather than a political leader. 20/ He speaks of the "Chinese traditional love for compromise", 4/ a characteristic he himself seems to possess.

BI:ABWheeler:mjn July 15, 1947

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1/ OSS, Washington, January 22, 1945.
2/ D. 1035, Hong Kong, October 23, 1941 (Confidential).
3/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943, p. 112.
4/ China Handbook, New York, 1943, p. 52; letter from Carson Chang to Chiang Kai-shek, April 13, 1938.
5/ OSS, Washington, c. 1943.
6/ D. 329, Kunming, November 21, 1941 (Confidential).
7/ OSS, A-52956, March 1945 (Confidential).
8/ OSS, A-53510, March 1945 (Confidential).
9/ OSS, A-33714, July 11, 1945 (Confidential).
10/ OSS, A-68477, April 12, 1946 (Confidential).
11/ T. 1991, Nanking, November 29, 1946 (Secret).
12/ T. 66, Nanking, January 11, 1947 (Confidential).
13/ T. 126, Nanking, January 23, 1947 (Confidential).
14/ FBIB Wire, A-74, February 11, 1947.
15/ SSU, A-68819, May 13, 1946; article from Tsai Sheng, Shanghai, April 20, 1946.
16/ OSS, A-58399, June 1945 (Confidential).
17/ Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, August 17, 1945.
18/ OSS, A-60189 (Secret/Control).
19/ OSS, A-60237, August 17, 1945 (Secret).
20/ Report from Foreign Service Officer, San Francisco, April 4, 1945.
21/ Report from Foreign Service Officer, San Francisco, April 2, 1945.
22/ New York Times, January 24, 1947; Tillman Durdin, Nanking, January 21.
23/ Alusna, NCR-2519, Nanking, July 19, 1947 (Secret).

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CHANG Lan (Chang Piao-fang) 張瀾 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1872, Nan-ch'ung, Szechuan province.

Education: Unknown.

Publications: Pamphlet, China Needs Democracy, 1943.

Political affiliation: Member, Chinese Democratic League.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | Active in the Revolution. |
| 1912-1914 | Delegate from Szechuan to the Peking Parliament. |
| 1914 | Returned to Szechuan province to raise an army to depose Yuan Shih-k'ai and to restore the Republic. |
| c1915-1918 | Civil Governor of Szechuan province. |
| 1918-1931 | President, Chengtu University, Chengtu, Szechuan. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council (PPC). |
| 1941 | Member and later chairman, Federation of Democratic Parties. |
| 1944-date | Chairman, Democratic League (elected September 1944). |
| 1945-1947 | Chairman, Finance Committee of the Democratic League, April 1945-January 1947. |
| 1946 | Democratic League delegate, Political Consultative Conference, January. |

Remarks:

Chang Lan, chairman of the Democratic League, is an elderly and distinguished scholar from Szechuan province. Though he was active in the 1911 Revolution and participated in activities to depose Yuan Shih-k'ai, his only position in the Kuomintang Government has been as a member of the People's Political Council to which he was elected in 1938. However, by his own account Chang has not attended any sessions of the PPC for the past few years, 1/ though his name is still on the PPC membership list as a Group D member.

Chang joined the Federation of Democratic Parties sometime after its organization in 1941 as an independent member from Szechuan province. Later he succeeded Huang Yen-pei, leader of the Vocational Education Party as Federation chairman. 2/ A report of 1944 states that he was chosen chairman "in recognition of his upstanding and liberal views". 3/ During the war he was a resident of Chengtu and active there in affairs of the Federation of Democratic Parties and in the Chengtu Branch of the Democratic League set up after the organization of the League in September 1944. Chang visited Chungking several times during the war in connection with meetings of the League.

An outspoken critic of one party dictatorship and of corruption in government, Chang has been quite fearless in expressing his own views even when this may have involved him in great personal danger. 4/ At a meeting on the Hua-hsi University campus in Changtu on October 7, 1944, he drew

criticism

Remarks (continued)

criticism from Wu I-fang and others in intellectual circles for declaring before a large gathering of students that China was not a democracy. While proclaiming complete allegiance to the Generalissimo, he charged the Kuomintang with having usurped despotic powers. 5/ On August 15, 1946, he presided over a Chengtu memorial meeting held for Democratic League members Wen I-to and Li Kung-po who had recently been assassinated in Kunming. The meeting was broken up by secret police and Chang was caught as he stepped into his car and beaten up. 6/

Chang is an old friend of Chang Tung-sun, Democratic League leader. His attitude towards Chang Chun, now President of the Executive Yuan, was expressed to friends in 1945 when he said he personally felt that the latter was opposed to the methods of the CC Clique but was trying to substitute a more subtle form of control by the powerful inner circle of the Kuomintang without effecting any real democratic changes. 7/ As regards his attitude towards America, he told an Embassy official in February 1947 that he considered that American assistance to the government was more to blame than any other single cause for the continuation of civil war. 8/

Now living in Shanghai, Chang is apparently not a wealthy man, and his power and influence are said to be based primarily on his own personal prestige. Though elderly he is said to have great youthfulness of spirit and thought. 4/ An Embassy report states that he is considered basically sincere and inspired by a desire to work for what he believes to be China's best interests. However, his political methods are said to be sometimes ruthless and he has several times been said to spread reports that would serve his own purposes without regard for the truth. 9/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn February 29, 1947

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1/ Hsin Hua Jih Pao, July 10, 1945, Office of War Information Press Review #184, July 10, 1945.
2/ Amerasia, April 25, 1945.
3/ Enclosure to despatch #2208, February 21, 1944.
4/ China Daily News, quoting an interview with Chang Lan, October 27, 1944.
5/ D. 49, Chengtu, October 13, 1944 (Confidential).
6/ FBIB, Daily Report, August 23, 1946; New China News Agency, August 22.
7/ OSS, A-56731, May 17, 1945, C-3 (Secret/Control).
8/ T. 372, Nanking, February 25, 1947 (Secret).

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CH'ANG Nai-te 常乃德 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1898, Yutz'u, Shansi.

Education: Graduate, Peking Teachers College.

Political affiliation: Young China Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Professor of History at Yenching, Honan, Great China, Shansi Universities. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1942 | Professor of History, West China Union University. |
| 1942-date | Professor of History, Cheeloo University. |
| 1946 | Young China Party delegate to the National Assembly. |
| 1947 | Minister without Portfolio, appointed April. |

Remarks:

Ch'ang is an important member of the Young China Party, being the director of the Party's Central Organization Board. 1/

BI:RPParkinson:mjn May 29, 1947

1/ OSS Biographic Files, Chungking, 1943 (Confidential).

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CHANG Po-chun 章伯鈞 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1895, Tung Cheng, Anhwei province.

Education: Studied philosophy at the University of Berlin, 1922-1925.

Political affiliation: China Peasant and Labor Democratic Party; Chinese Democratic League.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1927 | A founder of the Third Party (now called China Peasant and Labor Democratic Party). |
| 1938-1940 | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1945 | Chairman, Chungking Branch, Chinese Democratic League; Member, Seven-man Committee, People's Political Council to negotiate with the Communist Party. |
| 1945-date | Member, People's Political Council; Chairman, Organization Committee, Chinese Democratic League; Member, Central Executive Committee, Chinese Democratic League. |
| 1946 | Delegate, Political Consultative Conference, concurrently member, National Assembly Affairs Committee; Editor, China Forum (Chung Kuo Lun T'an), Chungking. |
| 1947 | Chairman, Standing Committee, China Peasant and Labor Democratic Party, February. |

Remarks:

Chang Po-chun is the leader of the China Peasant and Labor Democratic Party which had its origin in the Kuomintang-Communist conflict of 1925-1927. A party whose policies are described as neither Kuomintang nor Communist, it has been called at various times the "Third Party," "China Kuomintang Provisional Political Action Committee" (Chung Kuo Kuo Min Tang Lin Shih Hsing Tung Wei Yuan Hui), and the "Chinese National Emancipation Political Action Committee" (Chung Hua Min Tsu Chieh Fang Wei Yuan Hui).

Socialist in its ideology and more leftist than the other constituent parties of the Chinese Democratic League, the Third Party issued a four-point manifesto on the occasion of its adoption of the name, Chinese Peasant and Labor Democratic Party, in which it declared its firm adherence to the Democratic League, and "socialism through democracy," cooperation "with all peasant and laboring masses throughout the country to put up a common struggle for their emancipation," improvement of the farmer's lot by stopping conscription and the collection of land taxes in kind, encouraging ownership of land by the cultivators, relief of unemployment by revival of industry and commerce, and blaming "intrigues of the ruling political party.....and US imperialism" for the current civil strife in China.

Chang's political outlook was probably influenced to a certain extent by early associations with Chu Teh while a student in Berlin. Chu became a member of the Communist Party there and Chang and Chu "worked together

CHANG Po-chun (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

together and became good friends." The extent of Chang's leanings toward Communism while studying abroad is not known, but a published source indicates that he was pro-Communist during the period in which the Third Party was formed. According to this source, when a schism later developed between Teng Yen-ta and T'an Ping-shan, two co-founders with Chang of the party, Chang supported the latter in a policy urging cooperation with Soviet Russia as opposed to Teng, who supported the Second International. 3/ However, Chang recently denied that he was a follower of Communism and stated that the Communism of Marx and Engels is not and can never be popular in China as it is quite foreign to the Chinese character and way of life. On the other hand, he observes that the Communism of Mao Tse-tung and his government has been very favorably received by Chinese in all classes. 2/

As a constituent party in the Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties, Chang's Third Party protest against Kuomintang action in the New Fourth Incident of 1941 was reported to be the most forceful of all minor party protests and resulted in the Third Party being temporarily deprived of its seat in the People's Political Council. 4/

An advocate of coalition government, 5/ Chang was one of the PPC members sent in July 1945 to Yenan by the KMT to sound out the Communists on the proposed National Assembly in the hope of bringing the Communist members to the PPC meeting. 6/

While little is known about Chang's activities as a member of the Political Consultative Conference, it was reported that he spoke on behalf of the Democratic League in demanding reelection and broader representation in the National Assembly. 7/ He also proposed the convocation of a National Economic Conference to revive industry and agriculture. 8/

There is said to be "nothing gentle about Chang". His darkish face, wide mouth, square chin and stern eyes combine to betray his tenacity as a bulldog fighter. 9/ He speaks German well, but his English is halting.

BI:PMoy:mjn March 27, 1947

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1/ Chinese Press Review, Ta Kung Pao, February 3, 1947, Shanghai.
2/ SSU, A-57529, Kunming, May 23, 1945, F-2 (Secret).
3/ SSU, A-71491, Shanghai, May 5, 1946 (translation from a history of political parties published by the Universal Publishing Company).
4/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943.
5/ Biographic Data Report, Nanking, March 14, 1947 (Restricted).
6/ SSU, A-60235, Kunming, July 30, 1945 (Secret).
7/ Chinese Press Review, Ta Kung Pao, January 13, 1946, Chungking.
8/ Chinese Press Review #356, January 15, 1946; Hsin Hua Jih Pao, January 13, 1946, Chungking.
9/ Asia, March 1940.

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CHANG Tung-sun 張東蓀 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1886, Hangchow, Chekiang province; married; two sons, both educated in US, one has Ph.D. from Cornell, the other worked in the OSS during the war, both speak good English, are graduates of Yenching University and members of the Democratic League.

Education: B.A. (Philosophy), Tokyo Imperial University, 1916.

Languages: English.

Publications: New Philosophy; Moral Philosophy; The Refutation of Dialectical Materialism.

Political affiliation: Member of the Democratic League.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | Participated in the Revolution. |
| -- - -- | Chief Secretary, Ministry of the Interior; |
| | Editor, China Times, Shanghai; |
| | Acting President, China Institute; |
| | Dean of the College of Arts, Kwanghua University, Shanghai. |
| 1929-date | Professor of Philosophy, Yenching University. |
| 1929 | One of the founders of the National Socialist Party, Peking. |
| 1937 | Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, July 7th, escaped from Peking, went to Hankow and Kwangsi, later returned to Peking and founded the Northern Branch of the National Salvation Association for carrying on anti-Japanese activity. |
| 1941 | Arrested by the Japanese, December. |
| 1941-1943 | Imprisoned by the Japanese. |
| 1945 | Publisher, Cheng Pao (liberal paper), Peking. |
| 1946 | Member, Political Consultative Conference (PCC), January. |
| | Member, PCC subcommittee on Military Affairs; |
| | Member, PCC Joint Steering Committee; |
| | Member, Democratic League Standing Committee. |
| 1946-1947 | Secretary General, Democratic League, December (duties taken over by Huang Yen-pei, February 1947). |
| 1947 | Resident of Peking, teaching at Yenching University. |

Remarks:

Chang Tung-sun is one of a group of liberal Peking professors and has been active since the end of the war in the Democratic League. He began his career as an editor of Rightousness, an anti-Yuan Shih-k'ai magazine founded in Shanghai by the Democratic Socialist Hsu Fu-lin. Following the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai (June 6, 1916), and the restoration of the Parliament to Peking, Chang became Chief Secretary of the Peking Parlisment and from that date he seems to have remained in that city. In 1929, he was one of the charter members of the Chinese National Socialist Party founded in Peking. Like another of its founders, Carson Chang, he was a follower of the reformist, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. 1/

At the

CHANG Tung-sun (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

At the start of the Sino-Japanese war, Chang left Peiping, but by his own account, soon returned there to carry on anti-Japanese activities. He was arrested by the Japanese about the time of Pearl Harbor and held a prisoner for some time. 2/

Chang did not follow Social Democrat participation in the National Assembly and for this reason he refused to attend a meeting of the Party held in November 1946 for the Peiping and Tientsin branches. When the meeting voted a resolution supporting Carson Chang's stand in sending delegates to the Assembly, 3/ Chang Tung-sun withdrew from the Social Democratic Party in December 1946, according to press reports. 4/ However, he continued to be active in the Democratic League and came to Shanghai (where he stayed with his old friend Chang Lan) 5/ to attend the Second Plenary Session of the Democratic League. But in February 1947 he returned to Peiping saying that though "hope for peace was not lost, the time was not ripe" for resumption of peace negotiations. "I shall continue", he said, "to take a part in the handling of important League affairs. If the existing political situation shows signs of improvement, I shall hurry back to Shanghai to do my part in coping with the situation." 6/ The Peiping Jih Pao of April 19, 1947 reported that Chang had asked to be relieved of his duties as head of the North China Chapter of the Democratic League. Currently he seems to have retired from politics and to be teaching at Yenching, probably as a result of the greater amount of police control now exercised in Peiping.

Chang is said to be pro-American though he is not in favor of American support of the present Chinese Government. 9/ Writing in Wen Hui Pao, March 30, 1947, he regards China as not wanting to be "friendly to the US and Soviet Russia to the same extent." China, he feels, wants only to steer clear of the anti-Soviet course, while at the same time bringing its ties with the US closer. Stressing China's need for American aid in the form of loans he states that he opposes any extension of US aid to China prior to the achievement of peace. At the time of the PCC meetings, he felt that the US should have held out for a reorganization of the army though realizing that this would not come about without political concessions being made to the Communists. Moreover, he felt that America should have exerted pressure upon the Kuomintang for an implementation of the PCC resolutions. 10/ Chang declares that he has always maintained a critical attitude toward Marxism as a philosophy but has little objection to it as a body of economic principles. 11/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn April 29, 1947

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1/ Who's Who in China, Shanghai, 1936.
2/ Shih Chieh Jih Pao, Peiping, September 15, 1946.
3/ FBIB, Daily Report, November 22, 1946; Press Dispatch, Shanghai, November 21, 1946.
4/ USIS Press Review #234, Shanghai, December 26, 1946.
5/ Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai, December 28, 1946.
6/ Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, February 22, 1947.
7/ Sin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, April 11, 1947.
8/ USIS Press Review #323, April 19, 1947.
9/ 30-DB-4138, May 8, 1947, B-3 (Confidential).
10/ USIS Press Review #322, April 15, 1947.
11/ Shih Chieh Jih Pao, Peiping, September 15, 1946.

UNRESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

CH'EN Chi-t'ien 陳啓天 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1895, Huangpei, Hupei.

Education: Graduate of Chunghua University, Wuchang, where he majored in Political Science and Economics; studied at the National Southeastern University and Nanking Teachers College, where he studied education.

Publications: General Sociology; General Political Science; Democratic Constitution; The Past and Future of the State.

Political affiliation: China Youth Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Professor, Szechuan University. |
| 1924- -- | Editor in Chief, Chung Hua Book Company. |
| -- -date | Professor, National Wuhan University. |
| 1928- -- | Professor, Chunghua, Wuchang and Szechuan Universities. |
| 1936 | Editor of the National Affairs Monthly. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1943 | Member, Constitutional Government Committee; member, Economic Reconstruction Committee. |
| 1946 | Youth Party Delegate to the People's Political Conference (PCC); member, Presidium of the National Assembly. |
| 1947 | Member, State Council, appointed April 17; Minister of Economic Affairs, May. |

Remarks:

Ch'en joined the China Youth Party in 1925 and soon after he became a member of the Central Committee, a post he has since retained. A close associate of Yu Chia-chu, 1/ he was a delegate to the National Assembly, where he was elected to the Presidium and to the post of Deputy Secretary-General of the Assembly. 2/

Commenting on the internal dispute within the Youth Party in August 1946, Ch'en said "the so-called manifesto issued by Chou Chi-tao and others is insignificant, since Chou was dismissed from the party during the was and now seeks revenge." 3/ [Chou was leader of the anti-Tseng Chi faction which was reported in August 1946.]

In a recent interview he gave a black picture of the economic and military future of the Chinese Government and pleaded for prompt large-scale aid from the United States. Asserting that China "faces economic collapse" and that the United States would feel its consequences, he said that there was no chance of stopping the civil war short of complete victory by one side or the other. 4/

BI:RPParkinson:mjn June 30, 1947

1/ OSS, Chungking source, 1943.
2/ Chungking Radio, November 23, 1946.
3/ Wen-hui-pao, Shanghai, August 15, 1946.
4/ Tillman Durdin, Nanking, June 26, 1947; New York Times, June 27, 1947.

RESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

CHI I-chiao 戢翼翹 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1884, Fang-hsien, Hupeh province.

Education: Graduate of the 8th Class, Japanese Military Academy; graduate of the Civil Engineering School of Peiyang University, Tientsin.

Remarks:

Chi is a member of the State Council from the Social Democratic Party, appointed April 17, 1947. He was superintendent of the short-term Military Institute of Yünnan ("Chiang Wu T'ang"), and was Chief Adviser to General Chang Hsueh-liang as commander of the 3rd and 4th Armies. He was Deputy Commander of the 10th Army and Commander of the 29th Army. He was formerly Director of the Ssut'ao Railroad in Manchuria. Chi is a member of the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council and a councillor with the rank of full general of the Military Advisory Council. He is a member of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party. 1/ His appointment to the State Council was through the recommendation of Carson Chang. 2/

BI:AEWheeler:mjn April 29, 1947

1/ MA report, R-204-47, Nanking, April 21, 1947, C-2 (Restricted).
2/ Sin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, April 11, 1947
Chinese Press Review, #320, Shanghai, April 12, 1947.

RESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

CHIANG Yun-t'ien 蔣 勻 田 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1903, Sengyang, Anhwei province.

Education: Graduate of the National Political Institute, studied in Japan.

Publications: Relations Between Labor and Farmers.

Political affiliation: Democratic Socialist.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Editor, Peiping Morning Daily;<br>Magistrate of Pengpu, Anhwei;<br>Principal of Chingsung Middle School;<br>Secretary, Political Consultative Conference. |
| 1946 | Delegate, National Assembly, representative of the Democratic Socialist Party, November. |
| --- -date | Member, Standing Committee and Assistant Director of Information, Democratic Socialist Party. |
| 1947 | Appointed Minister without Portfolio, April 23. |

Remarks:

A member of the Democratic Socialist Party, Chiang was a delegate to the National Assembly in November 1946. 1/ He had previously been a secretary of the Political Consultative Conference. 2/ He was sent to Hongkong by Carson Chang in March 1947 to urge South China Democratic Socialist leaders to come to Shanghai in an attempt to reach a compromise on the question of participation in the reorganized government. 3/ Commenting on this question, Chiang said the party was undecided on participation in the reorganization of the government, because it did not know whether its participation would bring about any improvement in the over-all situation. 4/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn March 29, 1947

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1/ Chungking Radio, December 30, 1946.
2/ Central News, January 9, 1946.
3/ Chungking Radio, March 11, 1947.
4/ Voice of China, Chinese News Service, New York, February 3, 1947.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

UNRESTRICTED

HO Lu-chih 何魯之 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1889, Chengtu, Szechuan province.

Education: Studied in the Public School of Foreign Languages, China and in France.

Political affiliation: China Youth Party.

Remarks:

On returning to China from study in France, Ho Lu-chih taught in Chengtu University, in the Normal College in Chengtu, in Szechuan and Northeastern Universities, and later in Chao-yang Law College and Hua-hsi University. 1/ In addition to teaching for the past twenty years, he has been a member of the People's Political Council since 1930 and was a Group D member of the fourth People's Political Council, appointed in April 1945. 2/

A recent press report mentioned that Ho and Yu Chia-chu had lived in great poverty several years ago. 3/ He was appointed to the State Council on April 17, 1947. Ho is the author of books on European history.

BI:CJNelson:mjn April 29, 1947

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1/ FBIB, Daily Report, April 21, 1947.
2/ Chung Yang Jih Pao, April 24, 1945.
3/ Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, January 28, 1947.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

HSU Fu-lin 徐傅霖 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1870, Ho-ping Hsien, Kwangtung province.

Education: Graduated, Peking Law College; Bachelor of Law, Hosei University, Japan.

Political affiliation: Member of the Democratic Socialist Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Secretary to Judicial Commissioner, Ch'a Shih, Kwangtung province. |
| 1911 | Active in the Revolution; Kwangtung Provincial Assemblyman from Ho-ping district, Canton. |
| 1912 | In Nanking as member of National Council which drafted the Provisional Constitution. |
| 1913 | Member, Lower House of National Assembly, Peking, representative from Kwangtung province. |
| 1914 | Fled to Japan following the dissolving of the Assembly by Yuan Shih-k'ai. |
| 1915 | Returned to Shanghai, April; Founded two political magazines, Righteousness and Chung Hua Hsin Pao. |
| 1916-1917 | Member, Lower House of National Assembly, Peking, July 1916-June 1917. |
| 1917-1926 | At various times served as Chief Justice of the High Court, Minister of Justice and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. |
| 1929 | One of the founders of the National Socialist Party, Peking. |
| 1941 | Represented the National Socialist Party in Hong Kong. |
| 1943 | National Socialist Party representative to meeting of the Federation of Democratic Parties, Hong Kong, April. |
| 1946 | Director, National Socialist Party; President, National Socialist News, Hong Kong. |
| 1947 | Member, State Council, representing Democratic Socialist Party, June. |

Remarks:

Hsu Fu-lin is an "elder" of the Democratic Socialist Party and like many of his party colleagues, is noted as a scholar. Active in the 1911 Revolution, he opposed the monarchial aims of Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1915 he and others published the Chung Hua Hsin Pao in Shanghai. The paper, considered a spokesman for the new Republic of China, was said to have rendered such service to the new republican army that a reward of $100,000 was offered by Yuan Shih-k'ai for the arrest of its editor, Hsu. 1/ From 1917 to the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Hsu was affiliated with the latter's government in Canton, but from 1927 when the Kuomintang came to power, he held no government position until his appointment as State Councillor in June 1947. Since its inception in Nekang in 1929, he has been active in the affairs of the National Socialist Party.

In

HSU Fu-lin (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

In 1941 he was National Socialist representative living in Hong Kong, probably because censorship regulations were less rigid and more freedom of speech was allowed there than elsewhere in China. A report from the Consul General in Hong Kong then described him as "an almost pathetically futile figure, bitterly anti-Japanese". Hsu was loyal to Chiang Kai-shek whom he was said to recognize as the only man who could save China, yet Hsu was deeply opposed to what he believed to be the dictatorial policies of the present regime. 2/ In 1943 he took part in a Hong Kong meeting of the Federation of Democratic Parties at which he represented the National Socialist Party. Hsu, however, seems to have been active largely in the affairs of his own minority party rather than in the Federation of Democratic Parties or the later-organized Democratic League. He has held no prominent position in either organization.

Press reports (in which there is possible confusion of names--see sources 3/ and 4/) indicate that Hsu Fu-lin was in Singapore in October 1945 speaking at a rally to welcome the return of Chen Chia-keng (Tan Kah-kee), Chinese leader in Malaya, 3/ and that on December 19, 1945 he stated in an interview with a reporter of the Malaya Tribune of Kuala Lumpur, that the United States wanted an "Americanized united China, and should therefore help China itself, not any individual or party". 4/

Although in November 1946 the Democratic Socialist Party (formed by merger of National Socialists and Democratic Constitutional Party in August 1946) agreed to be represented in the National Assembly, the report that Hsu returned to Shanghai on December 30, 1946 from Nanking, "where he attended the National Assembly" 5/ was apparently false, since no prominent members of the party attended, and Hsu's name was not included in the official list of delegates.

Hsu lives at present in Shanghai where he is a leader of the so-called southern faction of the Democratic Socialist Party. Carson Chang met considerable opposition from this group over the question of the Party's participation in the reorganized government and Hsu at first refused to serve. When the Democratic Socialist nominees to the State Council were first named on April 6, Hsu's name was among them but his name was not on the official list of State Council members made public on April 21. This list named only three Democratic Socialist members though the agreements had given the party four representatives. After several meetings with Carson Chang, Hsu was apparently won over, for on June 13 a report stated that he would leave Shanghai for Nanking "to assume his new post" (as State Councillor) and "to act in his new capacity as Nanking spokesman for the Democratic Socialist Party". 7/

Hsu is a noted scholar of constitutional government, and was described six years ago as elderly and frail of physique, but mentally very alert. 8/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn June 27, 1947

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1/ Who's Who in China, Third Edition, Shanghai, 1925.
2/ Report from Consul-General, Hong Kong, October 23, 1941 (Confidential).
3/ China Daily News, March 2, 1946 (Reported Hsu's presence at the rally in Singapore; characters for his name were not given).
4/ CMI, New Delhi, #CDA 96, December 24, 1945, MISJ #45, December 25, 1945 (In the Malaya Tribune the name was given as Hsü Fu-ling, identified as a member of the Chinese National People's Assembly (sic.) which may be a reference to the National Assembly which sat at Peking under Yuan Shih-kai in 1913 and 1914.

5/ Chungking

5/ FBIB, Daily Report, December 31, 1946; Chungking radio, December 30, 1946 (Eagerness of Kuomintang news sources to report third party attendance at the National Assembly may be a sufficient explanation of this apparently erroneous report).
6/ FBIB, Daily Report, April 21, 1947.
7/ FBIB, Daily Report, June 13, 1947.
8/ D. 1035, Hong Kong, October 23, 1941.

RESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

HU Hai-men (Hu Yuan-hui) 胡海門 CHINA

Personal data: Born, Yungnien, Hopei province, 1881, the youngest son of a Chinese herb dealer; married, seven children.

Education: B.A., Waseda University, Japan, 1902, studied Political Science and Economics.

Political affiliation: Democratic Socialist.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1909 | Returned to China from study in Japan. |
| 1911 | Active in the Revolution; later joined the Progressive Party. |
| 1912 | Chairman of the Chihli (Hopei) Provincial Council; Principal, Peiyang Academy of Political Science and Law. |
| 1913 | Member, House of Representatives of the Peking Parliament. Head, Chihli Headquarters of the Progressive Party. |
| 1915-1916 | Active in opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai. |
| 1916-1917 | Member, House of Representatives, Peking Parliament. |
| c1918 | President, Board of Directors of a corporation owning wheat flour mills and a vegetable oil-cracking plant. |
| 1931-1932 | Reconstruction Commissioner for Hopei province, active in flood relief. |
| 1937-1939 | Confined to his house in Peking by the Japanese. |
| 1939-1945 | Resident in Tientsin. |
| 1947 | Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic League, January; member of the State Council, appointed April 17. |

Remarks:

Hai Hai-men is the representative of the Northern Branch of the Social Democratic Party. He is apparently a veteran member of the Party from Peiping and a friend of Carson Chang of long standing. 1/ According to a radio report he, unlike Carson Chang, still belongs to the Democratic League for at a meeting of the League's Organization Committee on January 3, he was made a member of the Central Executive Committee. 2/ He belongs to a faction of the Social Democrats that has in the past refused to participate in the government and there have been several reports that he was about to leave the Party over this issue. 3/ As late as March 8, 1947 Hu and others of the Peiping group are reported to have wired Carson Chang that they "were opposed to the Party's participation in the government", saying that if any action were taken "a split in the Party will be inevitable". 4/ However there have since been frequent meetings between the representatives of the Social Democrats from Peiping and Shanghai, and Hu was appointed to the State Council on April 17, 1947. 5/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn April 29, 1947

1/ Ching Shih Jih Pao, Peiping, December 9, 1946; Chinese Press Review (CPR) #214, December 9, 1946.
2/ FBIB, Daily Report, January 6, 1947 (Restricted).
3/ Sin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, December 3, 1946; CPR #216, December 4, 1946.
4/ Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai, March 10, 1947; CPR #292, March 10, 1947.
5/ FBIB Wire H, A34, April 18, 1947.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

HUANG Yen-pei (Huang Jen-chih) 黃炎培 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1879, Ch'uan-sha, Kiangsu province; orphaned at early age; married, one daughter.

Education: Graduated, Nanyang College; studied in Japan.

Honors, Decorations: Received the degree of Chu-jen (equivalent to the M.A. degree), 1902; honorary Ph.D. degree, St. John's University, Shanghai.

Publications: Observations on Education, 1911-1918; Education in the New World, 1915; New Education in the Southeast Pacific, 1917; Korea, 1928; A Brief History on China's Education, 1930; Travels Along the Yellow River, 1931; Eastern Chekiang, 1933; Szechuan Passes, 1936; Return From Yenan, 1945; and others.

Political affiliation: Vocational Education Association; Chinese Democratic League.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Member, Sun Yat-sen's Tung Meng Hui. |
| 1903-1904 | An organizer of the Society of Learning to spread new ideas and to stimulate sympathy for universal education;<br>Arrested on charge of revolutionary action against the Empress Dowager. |
| 1911-1914 | Chief, Education Bureau under the Military Governor of Kiangsu. |
| 1914 | Investigated educational conditions of the Yangtze provinces;<br>Special correspondent of the Shanghai Shun Pao. |
| 1915 | Secretary, Chinese Industrial Mission to the United States |
| 1918-date | Chairman, Vocational Education Association (Chung Hua Chih Yeh Chiao Yu She). |
| 1921 | Appointed Minister of Education, but did not accept position, December. |
| 1922 | Appointed Minister of Education in Dr. W.W. Yen's Cabinet, but did not accept position, June. |
| 1923 | Member, Educational Sinking Fund Commission, January. |
| 1933 | Editor-in-chief, A Statistical Survey of Shanghai. |
| 1937 | Member, National Defense Advisory Council. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1939-1941 | Member, United National Reconstruction Association. |
| 1941 | Chairman, Central Executive Committee, Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties. |
| 1941-1944 | Member, Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties;<br>In charge, Government War Bond Sales for Hongkong, Manila and Singapore, September. |
| 1942-1944 | Member, Resident Committee, People's Political Council. |
| 1943 | Chairman, National War Bond Sales Committee;<br>Member, Standing Committee for the Promotion of Constitutional Government, October. |
| 1944 | Publisher, Hsien Cheng Yueh K'an (probably Constitution Monthly), Chungking, January. |
| 1944-date | Member, Chinese Democratic League, concurrently member, Central Executive Committee, Chinese Democratic League and Chairman, Industrial and Commercial Movement Committee, Chinese Democratic League. |

Remarks

HUANG Yen-pei (continued)

CHINA

Remarks:

A prominent educator of high standing and integrity, Huang Yen-pei is an important member of the Chinese Democratic League and the leader of the Vocational Education Association. Apparently indifferent to high government position, he has on two occasions rejected the post of Minister of Education.

The members of his party come mostly from a number of vocational schools in Kiangsu province which he established after a detailed study of American vocational education in the Philippines. 1/ Backed by Kiangsu bankers and industrialists, including Tu Yueh-sheng and the Bank of Communications, 2/ Huang's party is probably one of the less aggressive constituent parties in the China Democratic League. Huang himself had been a member of Sun Yat-sen's Tung Meng Hui, predecessor of the Kuomintang, but during the 1925-1927 revolution, when the Kiangsu commercial interests regarded the Kuomintang as synonymous with the Communists and were, therefore, not favorably disposed toward either of them, Huang's vocational party backed the northern warlord Sun Chuan-fang against the Kuomintang Nationalist armies. 1/ In 1945, although the majority of the members of the Democratic League stayed away from meetings of the fourth People's Political Council following the League's failure to get a Communist delegation to attend, Huang took part, only withdrawing when the question of a National Assembly was brought up.

In late 1945, Huang and certain industrialists such as Hu Chueh-wen, Chang Nai-chi and Hu Hsi-yuan organized the National Democratic Reconstruction Party, announcing that it was necessary to strengthen the position of "mediating parties" to effect cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

In early 1946, during a period of optimism over the prospects of achieving a compromist between Kuomintang-Communist views in the Political Consultative Conference, Huang stated confidentially that although the Chinese people wanted to settle their own problems, they recognized the need for American participation. He held the opinion that as long as the United States adhered to a policy of maintaining active interest in China's internal problems and kept General Marshall in China to apply the necessary pressure, disputes could be solved through political means. At that time, Huang also said that should the United States withdraw from China, or General Marshall be recalled, there would be civil war, with the Soviet Union replacing the United States as the predominant foreign influence there. 6/

On the occasion of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow, March 1947, however, Huang and other prominent Chinese leaders sent a telegram to the Conference expressing the hope that those countries participating in the Foreign Minister Conference would be able to:

1. Abide by the agreement not to interfere with China's domestic affairs and immediately withdraw all troops from China. Pending the inauguration of real democratic and unified coalition government in China, they will cease any help to either one of the warring parties.
2. Make an honest effort to bring civil war in China to an early end and to realize democracy and unity in China in accordance with the agreement of the Foreign Ministers Conference of December 1945. 7/

BI:PMoy:mjn

March 27, 1947

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1/ Amerasia, April 25, 1945.
2/ D. 1594, Chungking, September 18, 1943 (Confidential).
3/ D. 2730, Chungking, June 30, 1944 (Restricted).
4/ OSS, Field Memorandum 828, August 20, 1945 (Secret).
5/ SSU, A-71495, Shanghai May 5, 1946.
6/ SSU, A-67195, Shanghai, February 18, 1946, C-2 (Confidential).
7/ T. 571, Nanking, March 17, 1947.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

KUO Mo-jo (Kuo Kai-cheng; pen names: Tu-Yun, I-K'an-Jen) 郭沫若 CHINA

Personal data: Born November 16, 1892, Chia-ting, Szechuan province; Japanese wife; children.

Education: Studied in Szechuan schools; attend Ikko Preparatory School, Japan; studied medicine at Rokko College, Japan; graduated, Kyushu Imperial University, M.B., 1922; studied literature in Japan and Germany.

Publication: Bronze Age, Ten Critical Essays, A Study of Ancient Chinese Society, Collection of Ancient Chinese Omens, A Study of Ancient Bronze Chronicles, Collection of Bronze Chronicles During the West Chou Dynasty, Researches on Oracle Bones, My Youth, The Bold Observance, Three Rebellious Women, Three Songs, Before and After the Revolution, and others; translated Goethe's Faust and the Sorrows of Young Werther.

Languages: Japanese and German.

Political affiliation: Independent.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1925 | Dean of Arts, Chungshan University, Canton. |
| 1926-1927 | Director, Propaganda Division, Revolutionary Army Headquarters, concurrently Secretary-General, Provisional Headquarters. |
| 1927-1937 | In Japan. |
| 1938 | Readmitted to the Kuomintang, June. |
| 1938-1940 | Head, Third Section, Political Training Department, National Military Council. |
| 1940-1945 | Chairman, Committee for the Promotion of Cultural Activities (Wen Hua Kung Tso She Hui), Political Training Department, National Military Council. |
| 1945 | Attended the 220th Anniversary, Academy of Science, Moscow and Leningrad, June. |
| 1946 | Non-partisan delegate, Political Consultative Conference, concurrently member, Administrative Program and Constitution Drafting Committees, January;<br>Member, National Assembly, November, but did not attend. |
| 1947 | Reportedly joined the Shanghai Tass Agency;<br>Member, New Century, "leftist intellectual" organization;<br>Member, Standing Committee, Chinese Writers' Association;<br>Member, Standing Committee, Sino-Soviet Cultural Relations Association. |

Remarks:

Kuo Mo-jo is a well-known writer, archaeologist and historian. He received some medical training in Japan but was prevented from becoming a doctor due to deafness in one ear -- the result of a typhoid fever attack when he was nineteen years of age. 2/

While

Remarks (continued)

While Dean of Arts at Chungshan University in 1925, Kuo was also managing director of the Ta Tung magazine store in Shanghai and there led a new literary movement of romanticism in Chinese literature as opposed to the naturalism of Lu Fei. 3/

Apparently a man of firm revolutionary convictions, Kuo was not content with settling into the ranks of officialdom after the occupation of Wuhan by the Revolutionary Army in 1926. He declined an appointment as Chief of the Education Division of Hupeh on the grounds that it wasn't revolutionary work and expressed bitter dissatisfaction over the easy and insincere transition that members of the ancien regime were making in the revolutionary order of things. He wanted to retire from his position in the Revolutionary Forces but was dissuaded from doing so. His writings express his feeling of frustration: "...we do nothing but discuss policy. The present victory of the revolution is only a military one; a political one has not appeared at all. For example, though our Political Division has issued many, many slogans to the people, we are quite unable to make good on them. But we do nothing but talk policy when it comes to the things that the people are really demanding, and we are too timid, too compromising toward the vested interests of the old order. The result is that the people have been tricked and we ourselves may turn into the successors of the old interests. The so-called 'revolution' is just a swindle." 4/

After the Communist Generals Ho Lung and Yeh Ting fell out with the Wuhan Government, Kuo followed them in their retreat into Kwangtung. Although he was not in Nanchang at the uprising on July 30, 1927, he probably arrived there soon afterwards but escaped to Hongkong after the Communist forces were ousted from Swatow.

Kuo's activities following his brief association with the Communist forces are not altogether clear. Published sources indicated that he was in Japan from 1927 to 1937. A military report, however, states that Kuo returned to Shanghai and resumed his work with the Creative Society (Chuang Tsao She), a literary society he took part in organizing after giving up his medical education. According to this source, he went to Japan twice during the 1927-1937 interval; once after a warrant was issued for his arrest because of his articles attacking the Generalissimo, and again (about 1930) after he returned to the Creative Society in Shanghai and joined the National Leftist Writers' League (possibly the Chinese Writers' Association). 3/ It is of interest to note that an order for the arrest of Lo Lung-chi, the editor of Hsin Yueh (Crescent Moon), was also issued about this time.

Returning to Shanghai in 1937, after the opening of Sino-Japanese hostilities, Kuo collaborated with Chang Nai-chi, Chekiang banker and industrialist in forming anti-Japanese front movements. 3/ Readmitted to the Kuomintang, he served under the National Military Council and was a non-partisan delegate to the Political Consultative Conference, but has remained articulate in his criticisms of the Central Government. In 1944, he wrote an article for the Communist organ Hsin Hua Jih Pao, describing conditions in China leading to the fall of the Ming Dynasty and China's subsequent domination by the Manchus. By innuendo, he drew a parallel between conditions under the Ming Dynasty and present-day China, saying that oppression of the people by officials and soldiers, famine, onerous taxation, failure to provide food for the armies and the indifference of the wealthy to the suffering of the masses led to banditry and uprisings which culminated in the overthrow of the Ming Emperor. 5/

Although

KUO Mo-jo (continued)

CHINA

Remarks (continued)

Although there is little available information concerning Kuo's recent activities, scattered reports indicate that he is still active. According to reports from Yenan in 1946, Kuo Mo-jo was among those proposing that "the Chinese question should be settled by the United Nations Security Council". 6/ During the March 1947 Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow, however, he joined with the Chinese Democratic League in asking members of the Conference to abide by the agreement not to interfere with China's domestic affairs and to make efforts to end the civil war in China in accordance with the agreement reached at the Foreign Ministers Conference of December 1945. 7/

At the height of agitation by anti-Central Government elements for the withdrawal of American troops from China, Kuo was sponsor 8/ of the "Use Native Products and Boycott American Goods" meeting in Shanghai. The meeting was called to instigate a boycott against American imports as a means of saving Chinese industry from bankruptcy, 9/ but was dispersed by hoodlums, several people being injured. In a statement concerning the breaking up of this meeting Kuo is reported to have said: "...today peace and democracy were affected. I tell you who were injured that you will not be forgotten. We must drive all American soldiers, American goods, and American imperialism from this country, and we must also drive out all the 'running dogs' of American imperialism; otherwise China cannot be saved". 10/

BI:FMoy:mjn

March 27, 1947

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1/ China Yearbook, 1939.
2/ FBIB, Daily Report, February 6, 1946.
3/ SCAP Hq., Doc. #16551Q, April 10, 1946 (Secret).
4/ J.W. Bennet, "A Poet with the Northern Expedition", a translation of Kuo Mo-jo's memoirs, Far East Quarterly, 1944.
5/ D. 2393, Chungking, April 3, 1944.
6/ FBIB, Daily Report, September 2, 1946; New China News Agency, August 31, 1946.
7/ T. 571, Nanking, March 17, 1947.
8/ Chinese Press Review #264, February 10, 1947, Peiping; Ching Shih Jih Pao, Peiping, February 10, 1947.
9/ New York Times, February 10, 1947.
10/ FBIB, Daily Report, February 14, 1947, Yenan said to be quoting Tientsin Ta Kung Pao and I Shih Pao.

 SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LI Chi-shen 李濟深 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1886, Changwu (Wuchow), Kwangsi province; married; six sons, five daughters; father and grandfather were scholar-landlords.

Education: Studied under the late Hu Han-min (right-wing Kuomintang revolutionist); graduated from Liang-Kwang (Kwangtung-Kwangsi) Military High School; studied for three years at the Officers' Training Academy founded by the War Advisory Council of the Ch'ing dynasty, c.1908-1911; graduated from Peking Military College, 1917.

Political affiliation: Independent.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | Chief of Staff, 22nd Division, Revolutionary Forces. |
| 1920 | Chief of Staff, 1st Division, Kwangtung Army. |
| 1921 | Commander, 1st Division, Kwangtung Army, concurrently Rehabilitation Commissioner, West River Area and Wuchow. |
| 1924 | Assisted Sun Yat-sen in defeating Chen Chiung-ming;<br>Defense Commissioner, Wuchow, Kwangsi;<br>Commander, 4th Revolutionary Army. |
| 1926 | Chief of Staff, Nationalist Armies. |
| 1926-1928 | Chairman, Canton Branch, Central Political Council, Kuomintang. |
| 1927 | Suppressed "Peasant-Labor Uprising" in Tungkiang, Kwangtung;<br>Member, Central Executive Committee, Kuomintang;<br>Member, Central Political Council, Kuomintang. |
| 1928 | Commander, 8th Route Revolutionary Army;<br>Chief of Staff, General Headquarters, Nationalist Government;<br>State Councillor;<br>Vice-Chancellor, Whampoa Military Academy;<br>Later relieved of all posts for being implicated in the revolt of the Kwangsi faction in Wuhan against the Nationalist Government |
| 1928-1929 | Enforced residence in Nanking. |
| 1931 | Pardoned. |
| 1932-1933 | Inspector General of Military Training. |
| 1933-1934 | Chairman, "People's Government", Foochow, November 1933-January 1934. |
| 1934 | Relieved of all posts and expelled from the Kuomintang, February. |
| 1938 | Pardoned;<br>Reinstated member of the Kuomintang;<br>Member, National Military Affairs Commission, April; concurrently Deputy Chairman, War Area Party and Political Affairs Commission. |
| 1940-1943 | Director, Kweilin Branch, Military Affairs Commission (for Fukien, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan). |
| 1943 | Appointed Chairman, Military Advisory Council, Military Affairs Commission, but did not accept position. |
| 1944 | Organized People's Mobilization Commission in Kwangsi, after occupation of the Hunan-Kwangsi Railroad by the Japanese. |
| 1945 | Member, Central Supervisory Committee, Kuomintang. |
| 1946 | Attended the Second Plenary Session, Sixth Central Executive Committee, Kuomintang. |
| 1946-date | Member, Hongkong Democracy Promotion Association;<br>Member, China Committee of the International League for the Protection of Human Rights. |
| 1947 | Expelled from the Kuomintang, May 14. |

Remarks

Remarks:

A former ranking official of the Kuomintang Party, Li Chi-shen is now associated with certain dissident elements in South China and is living in Hongkong. 18/ He has in the past rendered important services to the Kuomintang, such as being entrusted with the creation of the Whampoa Military Academy of which the Generalissimo was President, and in 1925, defeating the Yunnan-Kwangsi mercenary armies in and around Canton, thus paving the way for the unification of Kwangtung. 1/ During the period of the Northern Expedition, he remained in Canton to look after the revolutionary base and finances of the expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek. 2/ By virtue of early military leadership as Commander of the Kwangtung 1st Division, which became the 4th Army or "Ironsides Division", Li is the titular superior of such well-known military figures as Chang Fa-kuei, Yu Han-mou, Li Han-hun, Tsai Ting-kai, Hsueh Yueh and Chen Cheng, all of whom have served under him.

Yet Li has frequently been on the 'outs' with the Central Government and the Generalissimo has long been distrustful of him. During 1929 when relations between the Generalissimo and the Wuhan Government became increasingly strained, certain elder statesmen in Nanking, allegedly at the instigation of Chiang, made urgent and repeated appeals to Li to come to Nanking and mediate between the two groups. When Li arrived in Nanking, the Generalissimo placed him under detention for fear that he was planning to join Wuhan. 1/ He was released in 1931, however, as a result of the anti-Chiang campaign in Kwangtung and Kwangsi under Li Tsung-jen and Chen Chi-tang. In October 1933, the 19th Route Army, made famous for its defense of Shanghai against the Japanese in 1932, set up a People's Government in Foochow and elected Li chairman. When it collapsed Li went into retirement in Hongkong.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Li served the Central Government as a member of the Military Affairs Commission. He felt keenly the necessity for instituting radical changes in Chinese politics and wrote an open letter to the Generalissimo, advocating the formation of a government of national defense with the participation of militant leaders of anti-Japanese parties and factions. 1/

He became Director of the Kweilin Branch of the Military Affairs Commission in 1940 but was reported to have had little influence in that office, since most of his key men were Tai Li agents. 3/ Because of Li's numerous refusals to carry out Chungking orders to arrest Chinese liberals at Kweilin and because of his outspoken criticism of the Central Government, the Kweilin Branch was dissolved in December 1943. 4/ The restiveness of such notable Kwangsi leaders as Pai Chung-hsi and Li Tsung-jen over Chungking military policies and Li's alleged implication in the ferment probably contributed to the dissolution of the Kweilin Branch of the Military Affairs Commission. 5/

Rejecting the post as Chairman of the Military Advisory Council under the National Military Affairs Commission in Chungking, in which position Li felt he would be without authority or responsibility, 6/ he proceeded

to organize

Remarks (continued)

to organize the People's Mobilization Commission in 1944. With the assistance of the Federation of Democratic Parties, Chang Fa-kuei, Yu Han-mou, Tsai Ting-kai, Liu Chien-hsu and others, 1/ Li had hoped to make the People's Mobilization Commission a nucleus for a new democratic movement in China. 7/ Certain objectives of the movement were said to be the overthrow of the Chungking regime and the vigorous prosecution of the war. 1/

In March 1946, Li's attendance at the Second Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee from which he had been absent since the Third National Party Congress in 1929, 9/ called forth several rumors concerning his return to Kuomintang politics. It was said that he entertained ambitions for the Presidency of the Executive Yuan, 10/ that the Communist Party and the Democratic League proposed Chang Chih-chung or Li to be appointed Minister of National Defense and that he and Chen Ming-shu (a defender of Shanghai in 1932) were leading the Kuomintang's renovation movement against rightist Liang Han-chao. 11/

At present, it seems apparent that Li Chi-shen is still opposing the Central Government. Vocal in his protest against the state of affairs in China, he has in general voiced the sentiments of his close friends in the China Democratic League. In a recent statement published in the Ta Kung Pao, he said: 12/

1. The Government must give up its policy of achieving unification by armed force.
2. The Political Consultative Conference should be resumed and a democratic coalition government should be established.
3. After the establishment of a coalition government, a National Assembly should be convoked to enact a Constitution.
4. Sovereign rights should be defended and an independent foreign policy should be laid down. Opposition should be voiced to international intervention in China's domestic affairs.
5. Reduce military expenditures; issue no more banknotes.
6. A protective tariff should be enforced and relief accorded to poor farmers and unemployed workers.
7. The revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen should be revived.

The leader of the San Min Chu I Comrades Association and the Democratic Promotion Association, 13/ Li is reported to be waging guerrilla warfare in collaboration with the former Communist East River Column against the government forces in Kwangtung. It is also said that the bulk of Li's guerrilla forces were identified as having belonged to Tsai Ting-kai's 19th Route Army. 15/ While Li was a relentless foe of the Communists in 1927, he has apparently modified his views towards them, stating that "the Communists have changed. They no longer preach the dictatorship of the proletariat and have abandoned, at least temporarily, their idea of one-party rule." 14/

As a result of his outspoken criticism of the Kuomintang, he was read out of the party on May 14, this being lat least his third expulsion. 8/

Intelligent, frank and comparatively liberal in political views, 15/ Li has a reputation of being a very forceful and positive character. He is not fond of talking much; like Chiang Kai-shek, he prefers listening to reports of subordinates. 16/

BI:PMoy:mjn

June 29, 1947

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1/ D.

LI Chi-shen (continued)

CHINA

1/ D. unnumbered, Kweilin, August 28, 1944 (Secret).
2/ OSS, A-64783, December 28, 1945.
3/ G-2 Report, Chungking, February 5, 1943 (Secret).
4/ D. 1943, Chungking, December 22, 1943 (Confidential).
5/ D. 2302, Chungking, March 14, 1944 (Confidential).
6/ D. 2563, Chungking, May 15, 1944 (Confidential).
7/ Rpt. 121, Kweilin, July 6, 1944 (Confidential).
8/ MA, R-436-47, Nanking, June 30, 1947, B-2 (Confidential).
9/ USIS, Ho Ping Jih Pao, Shanghai, March 6, 1946.
10/ SSU, A-67805, Shanghai, March 4, 1946, B-2 (Restricted).
11/ The China Press, Shanghai, March 7, 1946.
12/ Chinese Press Review #292, Shanghai, March 10, 1947; Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai, March 10, 1947.
13/ New York Times, April 7, 1947; Henry R. Lieberman.
14/ New York Times, April 14, 1947; Henry R. Lieberman.
15/ D. 111, Kweilin, April 30, 1944 (Confidential).
16/ MA Report, Peiping, July 16, 1935.
17/ NIACT #1406, Nanking, June 26, 1947 (Secret).

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LI Huang 李璜 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1895, Chengtu, Szechuan province.

Education: University of Paris.

Honors, decorations: 4th Tripod Medal, January 1, 1945.

Publications: History and Social Science.

Political affiliation: Young China Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Professor of National Peking, Wuchang and Chengtu Universities. |
| 1937 | Member, National Defense Advisory Council. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1940-date | Member, Szechuan-Sikang Economic Commission. |
| 1942-date | Member, Presidium of the People's Political Council (PPC). |
| 1944 | Member, Standing Committee, Committee for the Promotion of Constitutional Government;<br>Attended Extraordinary Meeting of the Democratic League at West China University, Chengtu, October;<br>Chairman, Organization Committee, Democratic League, November. |
| 1945 | Member, Chinese delegation to United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, April. |
| 1946 | Delegate, Young China Party, to the National Assembly;<br>Concurrently member, Presidium of the National Assembly, but did not attend, November. |
| 1947 | Minister of Economic Affairs, appointed April 23; resigned May. |

Remarks:

Li Huang, a leader of the Szechuan faction of the Young China Party, was a member of the Young China Study Association in 1918 and an associate of Tseng Ch'i in the founding of the Young China Party. Returning from Paris where the party was organized in December 1923, Li, Tseng Ch'i and Ch'en Chi-t'ien published the party organ Awakened Lion (Hsing Shih Weekly) in Shanghai.

An advocate of government reform, Li said in 1944 that the prospects for democratic government in China were encouraging, because popular pressure for governmental reform was increasing, but the alternative to government reform, he felt, was revolution in which local war lords would probably be involved. At the time he also said that although the war lords have in the past often completely disregarded the interests of the people, they were beginning to realize that their only possible source of real strength was the people and were, therefore, becoming increasingly willing to support democracy. 1/

With

LI Huang (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

With respect to representative government, Li and his party associates early have made known their position in the People's Political Council. In 1938, they advocated "the speedy establishment of provincial, district and municipal councils". In September 1939, they asked that "political tutelage be done away with and that constitutional government be inaugurated in order to rally the people to the war effort"; and in November 1941, they declared: "reform politics by adopting democratic government." 1/

Reluctant in 1944 to assess blame in Kuomintang-Communist difficulties, Li Huang, who had attended meetings between Communist and Central Government delegates, felt that neither side appeared to be fully sincere and that each side was more or less equally to blame for the conflict between them. 1/

Li attended the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco reportedly on the condition that the Communists would be represented. 2/ However, even after Tung Pi-wu became the Communist member of the Chinese delegation, he declared the delegation to be Kuomintang-dominated, a statement which T.V. Soong was said to have pressed Li Huang to deny, and which Li reportedly refused to do. However, Li's inclusion in the Chinese delegation was felt by some to be a slight concession toward the liberals and by one source he was referred to as "window-dressing". 4/

Following the San Francisco Conference, Li was reported to have spoken before a public forum sponsored by the Chee Kung Tang and the Constitutionalist Party in Los Angeles 5/ and to have made plans with the former organization for the establishment of an English and Spanish weekly to be sponsored by the Chinese Democratic League. 6/ These activities presumably afforded him a reason for remaining absent from the meetings of the PPC of July 1945 for Li was violently opposed to convening the National Assembly, feeling that if it were convened, the Communists would immediately call a People's Assembly representing their area and set up a National Liberation Government which would lead to civil war. Privately Li stated that he also opposed his party's participation in the PPC on the ground that the latter served only as an advisory body and the Kuomintang had thrust upon it the responsibility for deciding how the vacant seats in the Assembly were to be filled. 7/ In spite of opposition, Li was appointed a Young China Party delegate to the National Assembly of November 1946, but he stayed away on the grounds of ill health. 8/

Li is reportedly liberal, with a progressive point of view. He is said to be "not too forthright". Though friendly with the Generalissimo, the latter has had difficulty in keeping him in line. 2/

BI:FMoy:mjn June 29, 1947

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1/ D. 30, Chengtu, June 18, 1944 (Strictly Confidential).
2/ Department of State, Division of Chinese Affairs, Memorandum of Conversation, April 4, 1945 (Restricted).
3/ OSS, FEI, July 9, 1945, B-3.
4/ Department of State, Division of Chinese Affairs, Memorandum of Conversation, April 2, 1945 (Restricted).
5/ OSS, FEI, June 13, 1945.
6/ OSS, August 17, 1945, B-3.
7/ OSS, A-58399, June 25, 1945, B-3.
8/ FBIB, Daily Report, November 21, 1946.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LI Ta-ming (Li Tai-ming, Lee Dai-ming) 李大明 CHINA

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| c1944 | Leader, among overseas Chinese in America and Canada, of the Constitutionalist Party, known in China as the Overseas Democratic Constitutionalist Party. |
| -- | Member, Chee Kung Tong (Red Society), United States. |
| 1945 | Trustee and managing editor, Sai Gai Bo (Shih Kai Pao, The Chinese World), San Francisco, c. February; |
| | Visited Los Angeles to establish Chinese language-newspaper under sponsorship of Chee Kung Tong and Constitutionalist Party, June. |
| 1946 | Member, Organizing Committee, Democratic Socialist Party, Shanghai, August; |
| | Returned to Shanghai from Honolulu, December 13; |
| | In Nanking, during closing days of National Assembly, c. December 20 to December 23. |
| 1947 | Attended national convention of Democratic Socialist Party, appointed January 2; |
| | Member, Central Executive Committee, Democratic Socialist Party, appointed January 3; |
| | In Hongkong, March; |
| | Minister without Portfolio, appointed April 23. |

Remarks:

Li Ta-ming (whose name, in the United States, was invariably rendered Li Tai-ming or Lee Dai-ming) was described in 1944 as the moving spirit of the Constitutionalist Party and of the opposition to the conservative Kuomintang leadership among overseas Chinese in the United States and Canada. 1/ Through the Constitutionalist Party and his prominence in the Chee Kung Tong (Red Society), Li claimed to control five Chinese-language newspapers: the New China Daily Press (Honolulu); Chinese Republic News (New York City); Sai Gai Bo (San Francisco); Hung Chung (Chinese Times, Toronto); and the Chinese Times (Vancouver). 1/

The Constitutionalist Party in the United States dated from about 1900, 2/ and during World War II emphasized three issues calculated to obtain a following among overseas Chinese: improvement of arrangements for remittances of funds to relatives, etc., in border areas in Kwangtung; establishment of a coalition government; and strengthening of the voice of overseas Chinese in China's domestic politics. 1/ With respect to the issue of remittances and rates of exchange, Li claimed credit for arranging certain remittances to Macao through the Chinese Embassy, 1/ and capitalized on the information that, whereas United China Relief obtained an exchange rate of 250 to 1, the regular rate for ordinary Chinese was only 40 to 1 in early 1945. 3/

When Chang Chun-mai (Carson Chang), leader of the National Socialist Party, came to San Francisco to attend the United Nations Conference on International Organization in April 1945, the proposal to amalgamate the two parties was first brought up. The merger was finally effected in August 1946, after Li Ta-ming's return to Shanghai. 2/

On his

LI Ta-ming (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

On his return to Shanghai from Honolulu in December 1946, it was reported that he was on his way to attend the National Assembly, and he was in Nanking during the last few days of its sessions, but no report has been received of his official participation as a delegate.

In his efforts to recruit followers for the Democratic League, as early as 1945 Li was reportedly assisted in New York and San Francisco by Louie Chew Yeen (Liu Chiu-yin), editor of the Chinese Republic News, and Hsu Yun-ying, a research member of the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations. 4/ At that time he was accused by Chinese sources of cooperating with anyone, left, middle, or right, who opposed the policies of the Kuomintang. 5/ However, other observers reported that he was apparently reasonable and non-self-seeking in his political efforts, and conceived of his Constitutionalist Party as a sort of buffer between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists. 6/

BI:CJNelson:mjn June 29, 1947

1/ OSS, CID 112368, Washington, December 22, 1944, B-3 (Confidential).
2/ SSU, A71494, Shanghai, September 27, 1946 (Free).
3/ OSS, 33075-324, March 27, 1945 (Confidential).
4/ OSS, FEI, SE-1985, Washington, June 13, 1945 (Secret).
5/ OSS, CID-14067, Washington, June 30, 1945 (Secret).
6/ OSS, A-50515, Washington, February 13, 1945, B-3 (Confidential).

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LIANG Shih-ch'iu 梁實秋 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1902, Peking, Hopei province; son of Liang Hsiang-hsi; married Cheng Chi-shu, 1927; three children.

Education: Tsinghua College, 1923; B.A., Colorado College, 1924; Harvard University, 1925; Columbia, 1926.

Publications: Translated a number of foreign classics into Chinese, notably Peter Pan, Life of Samuel Johnson and the works of Shakespeare (eight volumes).

Party affiliation: Democratic Socialist.

Career:

Successively served as: Professor of Foreign Language and Literature at Tungnan University, and National Chinan University; Dean of Foreign Literature, Shantung University; Professor of English, National Peking University.

1942-1943 Member, third People's Political Council (PCC) from Hopei province (March 1942-September 1943).
1945-1946 Group D member of the fourth PPC, representative of the National Socialist Party.
1945-date Professor of Foreign Languages and Dean of the College of Arts, National Central University.

Remarks:

Noted as a scholar who is best known for his translations of Shakespeare, Liang Shih-ch'iu was one of the early members of the National Socialist Party and was present at important party meetings held in 1934. He has been in the PPC since 1942, first as representative from his native province and later as a National Socialist representative to Group D, the section composed of representatives "who have served for more than three years in representative cultural and economic bodies or who have been long devoted to political activities." 1/

According to a newspaper account, Liang's appointment in 1945 as Dean of Arts at Central University, occasioned some criticism from faculty members who felt that he was a protegé of Chancellor Ku Yu-hsiu and brought into the university for that reason. The same account described his "knowledge, character and thoughts" as "all unsatifactory". 2/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn April 29, 1947

1/ China Handbook, 1937-1943, New York, 1943.
2/ Hua Hsi Wan Pao, August 8, 1945.

 SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LIANG Shu-ming (Liang Huan-ting) 梁漱溟 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1893, Peiping; of Kweilin, Kwangsi family; single.

Education: Graduated, Shun Tien Middle School.

Publications: An Introduction to Indian Philosophy, 1919; Civilization and Philosophy of the Orient and Occident, 1922; Last Chance of the Self-Salvation Movement of the Chinese People, 1933; Theory of China's Reconstruction; Explanation to Comments on Tsouping Experimental Work of Rural Reconstruction; Liang's Essays on Education.

Political affiliation: Rural Reconstruction Association; Chinese Democratic League.

Career:

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|---|---|
| -- | Correspondent, Tientsin Republic. |
| 1916 | Secretary, Minister of Judicature, Peking Government. |
| 1917-1924 | Professor of Indian and Confucian Philosophy, Peking University. |
| 1924 | Founder, Tsaochow High School, Shantung. |
| c1927 | Chairman, Reconstruction Committee, Canton Branch, Central Political Council. |
| 1929 | Principal, Kwangtung Provincial 1st Middle School, Canton. |
| 1929-1930 | Founder, Institute of Local Self-Government, Honan. |
| 1929-1932 | Chief Editor, Local Self-Government Monthly, Honan. |
| 1931-1937 | Founder, Shantung Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Tsouping, concurrently, head, Research Department. |
| 1933-date | President, Shantung Institute of Rural Reconstruction. |
| 1933-1937 | Chairman, Reconstruction Committee, Kwangtung and Kwangsi Branch, Central Political Council. |
| 1937-1938 | Member, National Defense Advisory Council, August. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1939 | Founded United National Reconstruction Association (T'ung I Chien Kuo T'ung Chih Hui). |
| 1941 | Publisher, Kuang Ming Pao, Hongkong. |
| 1941-1944 | Member, Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties, concurrently member, Central Executive Committee, Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties. |
| 1944 | Cultural Chief of Li Chi-shen's People's Mobilization Commission. |
| 1944-date | Member, Central Executive Committee, Chinese Democratic League. |
| 1945 | Chairman, Domestic Relations Committee, Chinese Democratic League;<br>Head, Southeastern District Branch, Chinese Democratic League. |
| 1946 | Member, Political Consultative Conference (PCC), concurrently member, Military Affairs and National Assembly Affairs Committees, PCC.<br>Sent to Kunming by the Chinese Democratic League to investigate the murders of Li Kung-po and Wen I-to, members of the Chinese Democratic League, August. |

Remarks

LIANG Shu-ming (continued)

CHINA

Remarks:

Liang is a leader of the Rural Reconstruction Group and was a promoter of experiments in village self-government in Honan and Shantung provinces. He believes in rural reform to be initiated by the people themselves.

The origin of Liang's movement dates back to the middle 1920's when the peasantry of Honan, then a battlefield in a three-cornered civil war, organized the "New Red Spears" to defend their villages against warlords and bandits. Securing power in a large number of villages, the "New Red Spears" began to work out general principles of policy and administration. One of their slogans was: "To accomplish the Chinese revolution, we must first accomplish the revolution in each locality."

In 1929, when Feng Yu-hsiang took over the area, he permitted the establishment of a rural college in which Liang Shu-ming taught. After Feng was defeated by Central Government troops in 1930, the college discontinued its work, but Liang applied the experience of the Honan movement to Shantung. 1/

Liang's Institute of Rural Reconstruction was reported to have contributed a great deal in Shantung during the first few years of the Sino-Japanese War. His failure to obtain government permission to assist in the work of conscription and requisitioning of army provisions was said to have convinced him that "rural administration was only an empty dream without having first made improvement in the political environment." 2/

His earliest effort in the larger realm of national politics was made as a member of the People's Political Council, where he observed the deterioration of relations between Communist guerrillas and Central Government troops in Shantung, Hopei, Shensi, Anhwei and Kiangsu. Returning to Chungking, Liang organized the United National Reconstruction Association in late 1939 to unite the small parties in support of a joint program, and thus give these small parties greater weight in the fight for political unity and democratic government.

The Association's first test came in March 1940 as a result of an armed clash between government and 8th Route Army troops in Southwest Hopei. Liang prepared, on behalf of the Association, proposals for the solution of this and future conflicts, the main points of which were: (1) that the Kuomintang should settle its differences with the Communists within the People's Political Council; and (2) that Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communist Party, should be asked to come to Chungking in his capacity as a member of the PPC and participate in a committee of three to five members to be formed for the purpose of regulating inter-party relations. 1/

A special inter-party committee was formed, but its deliberations were subordinate to direct Kuomintang-Communist negotiations then proceeding between Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War and Chin Pang-hsien, a member of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee. The recommendations of the inter-party committee were apparently shelved when the PPC sessions ended. With Chungking experiencing heavy bombings, efforts to reconcile Kuomintang-Communist differences came to a standstill. Unable to achieve a compromise between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists over the New Fourth Army Incident of January 1941, the United National Reconstruction Association was dissolved and in place of the Association, the Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties was formed with its propaganda center in Hongkong. Liang became editor of the Federation's organ Kuang Ming Pao.

Apparently

LIANG Shu-ming (continued)



Remarks (continued)

Apparently well-known to the Kwangsi leaders, Liang reportedly owed his group's participation in the Federation to his ability to raise CNC $60,000 from those leaders presumably to subsidize opposition to the Kuomintang. 3/ A close friend of Kwangsi leader Li Chi-shen Liang was a member of Li's Canton branch of the Central Political Council about 1927 and was reported to be Cultural Chief of Li's People's Mobilization Commission in Kwangsi, late in 1944. The Commission was the instrument through which Li had attempted to advance democracy, overthrow the Chungking Government and prosecute the war more vigorously. According to an American official, Liang may have been partially responsible for Li's positive views on the necessity for the introduction of democratic principles and popular education as a prerequisite for the revitalization of China's will to resist in the Sino-Japanese War. 5/

After serving for a short period as secretary general of the Chinese Democratic League (successor organization to the Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties), Liang retired to Peipei, Szechuan where he is planning to finish his book on the "Essence of Chinese Culture."

A reliable American observer described Liang as being half charlatan and the rest sincere. He wears the finger-nail on his little finger long to show the world that he is a scholar rather than a laborer,---otherwise he might easily be mistaken for the latter---. 6/

BI:PMoy:mjn

April 29, 1947

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1/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943.
2/ Chinese Press Review #155, September 19, 1946, Shanghai; Hsin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, September 4, 1946.
3/ D. 1035, Hongkong, October 23, 1941 (Confidential).
4/ OSS, R&A Field Memo #188, December 27, 1944 (Secret).
5/ CID 95517, October 6, 1944 (Secret).
6/ D. 1037, Hongkong, October 24, 1941 (Confidential).

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

LO Lung-chi (Lo Nu-sheng) 羅隆基 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1896, Anfu, Kiangsu; son of Lo Nien-tsu, a scholar.

Education: Graduate, Ch'inghua University; University of Wisconsin, B.A., M.A., 1924-1925; studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science under Harold J. Laski, 1926-1927; Columbia University, Ph.D., 1928.

Political affiliation: Member of the Democratic League.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1928-1930 | Professor and Head, Political Science Department, Kuanghua University, Shanghai;<br>Editor-in-Chief, Crescent Moon, Shanghai. |
| 1931-1937 | Editor, I Shih Pao, Tientsin;<br>Lecturer, Nankai University. |
| 1932-c1937 | Founder and Executive member, National Salvation Association (Chiu Kuo Lion Ho Hui), Peiping and Tientsin Branches. |
| 1932-c1944 | Member, National Socialist Party (Kuo Chia She Hui Tang). |
| 1937 | Editor-in-Chief, Peiping Ch'en Pao. |
| 1938-1941 | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1939-1941 | Professor, National Southwest Associated University. |
| 1941-1944 | Member, Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties (Chung Kuo Min Chu T'ung Meng). |
| 1944-date | Member, Democratic League. |
| 1945 | Chairman, Yunnan Branch, Democratic League. |
| 1945-date | Chairman, Propaganda Committee, Democratic League and concurrently member, Central Standing Committee, Democratic League. |
| 1946 | Delegate, Democratic League delegation to Political Consultative Conference, January and concurrently member, Government Reorganization and Constitution Drafting Committee;<br>Manager, Min Chu Pao, Shanghai. |

Remarks:

A spokesman for the Democratic League, Lo Lung-chi is a well-known publicist and an advocate of minority parties. He has long been critical of the ruling party in China.

During Lo's five years of study abroad, which included a brief period of study under Laski at the London School of Economics and Political Science 1/, 3/ (his Ph.D. thesis was Parliamentary Elections in England), he served as president of the Chinese Student's Federation of the United States and editor of the Chinese Students' Quarterly in the United States and in England. He returned to China in 1928 and became professor and dean of the the Political Science Department at Kuanghua University. 2/

Lo was also invited to become editor-in-chief of the Crescent Moon, a purely literary publication founded in 1926 by Hu Shih. This publication was the mouthpiece of a significant literary and intellectual move-

ment

Remarks (continued)

ment. 2/ Lo thus became one of the most important members of the New Moon Set (Hsin Yueh P'ai) which was made up of leading intellectuals in the Chinese literary renaissance.

Under Lo's influence, both the publication and the group which it represented became more political in character, 2/, 3/ although both maintained their literary flavor and following. This shift was coincident with the deepening interest which intellectuals in China were taking in the political affairs of their country. Because of the influence and prominence which he had thus attained, Lo was arrested in 1930 and dismissed from Kuanghua University on the order of the Generalissimo. 2/ This action effectively disrupted the New Moon Set. Its members moved in a group to Peiping and Tientsin. Lo, shortly liberated, became editor of the Catholic I Shih Pao in Tientsin, joined the National Socialist Party, 3/ and at the time lectured at Nankai University. 2/ Under his direction, the paper rapidly became the most influential and widely read liberal paper in all North China, and perhaps, all China. By 1932, his liberal and anti-Japanese viewpoint became so well-known that two unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. 2/

After the second attempt, the Central Government threatened the manager of the I Shih Pao that it would "withdraw its protection" from the paper unless Lo resigned as its editor. As a consequence, Lo gave up his post resulting in an almost immediate drop in the circulation of the paper. Later, Lo again became editor of the paper, but not before the founder of the paper went to Nanking and was successful in negotiating with the Generalissimo for permission to reemploy Lo. The Generalissimo invited Lo to Chengtu to have a talk with him. There he also gave lectures to the soldiers and was offered an official post under General Liu Shih, who had been a student of Lo's father, but Lo refused the offer. 2/

Returning to Tientsin (still 1932), he organized the rapidly growing but sporadic student agitations against the government's policies into the powerful and effective Students Movement. It is, perhaps, a tribute to Lo's part in organizing this movement that Nankai University was the first victim of Japanese destruction of educational institutions in China. 4/

The Students Movement marked the first great shift of Chinese popular opinion in favor of the suspension of civil war and the creation of a united front of anti-Japanese resistance. 2/ This shift of popular opinion coincident with the failure of the League of Nations to resolve the Manchurian situation and the unsuccessful resistance of the 19th Route Army in Shanghai brought about the formation of the National Salvation Association by Shen Chun-ju with Lo as one of the founding and executive members of both the Peiping and Tientsin branches. 2/ The aims of the Association were said to be resistance to the Japanese and democracy for China. Lo continued in the activities of the National Salvation Association until 1937, when he became editor-in-chief of the Peiping Ch'en Pao. With the outbreak of the war with Japan in July 1937, Lo went to Nanking. The Japanese seized and closed both the papers of which he had been editor. 2/

In Hankow, where the People's Political Council was formed in 1938 to give limited recognition to minority parties in government affairs and to better formalize the united front, Lo became a PPC representative of the country at large. Prominent in criticisms of H.H. Kung, who was then President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance, Lo was among a

delegation

LO Lung-chi (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

delegation of four PPC members invited by Chiang to discuss Kung's position. The delegation argued that China needed as her Finance Minister, a man of ability and of good reputation abroad in order to get help, preferably from America. Chiang replied with a general defense of Kung, but at the insistence of Lo and other councilors, he finally consented to demote Kung to the Vice-Presidency of the Executive Yuan; Chiang himself becoming President. Kung, however, continued as Minister of Finance, the post in which his opponents felt he was doing China's credit most harm. According to a San Min Chu I Youth Corps operative, Lo was also responsible for a students' "Anti-Kung Movement" when Madame Kung insisted on bringing her dog out of Hongkong after the city was attacked in December 1941. 2/

By 1939, a considerable popular demand for a constitutional government had grown up, and in response to it, the Generalissimo appointed twenty members of the PPC to a Committee for Promoting Constitutional Government. Lo was a member of the Committee. 2/ An alternate draft to the May 5, 1935 Draft Constitution was sponsored by the Committee and formally presented to the PPC. By prearrangement, three Kuomintang members of the Council took the floor in succession and denounced the alternate draft. Their denunciation was followed by that of Chiang Kai-shek, who harshly criticized it, saying that to adopt it would lead to loss of authority by the executive branch of the government, whereas the power of the executive should be enhanced. He stated flatly that conditions prevailing in China would not allow such a modification of the May 5th Draft, and that any attempt to introduce into China any western form of constitutional government would inevitably result in a national collapse. As chief proponent of the alternate draft, Lo incurred the displeasure of the Generalissimo who personally issued instructions that Lo be deprived of his position at National Southwest Associated University and that in the future he be forbidden to write any article of whatever nature for publication. 5/

As a result of the conflict between the Communist and Central Government forces in the winter of 1940-1941, and the failure to settle the outstanding issues between the contending parties, a PPC mediating committee of nine, of which Lo was a member, was formed to stave off the prospects of Communist withdrawal from the PPC and to prevent an open split of the already tenuous united front. 2/ Chiang presumably gave consent to the formation of this mediation group after the minority parties failed to get government action on the formation of an All-Party Committee outside of the PPC, the decisions of which would be enforced without the necessity of ratification by any other political body. 6/ The mediation efforts of the committee of nine were unavailing, and the small parties set about the formation of the Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties to secure better integration of their separate programs. 6/ Lo also took part in the organization of the Federation and was by this time, apparently dismissed from the PPC for criticism of Kuomintang policies. 7/

Sometime later, the Generalissimo invited Lo to come to Chungking for an interview. Lo was given a titular job and considerate treatment. But time after time the interview for which he had presumably come to Chungking was postponed. Since it was impossible for him to leave without permission, Lo was virtually a prisoner for many months. Finally he wrote to the Generalissimo that he wanted to return to his native village in Kiangsi, and was permitted to do so. 2/ However, he made his way to Kunming instead and remained there for a while under the semi-protection of Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan. 2/, 7/

Around

Remarks (continued)

Around July 1944 some members of the Federation of Chinese Democratic Parties took the position that the Generalissimo was solely responsible for China's critical situation, 7/ and Lo was said to have been closely associated with a projected secessionist movement looking toward a coalition government which would oust Chiang and take over the administration of national affairs. 1/ Yen Hsi-shan, Liu Wen-hui, Pan Wen-hua, Li Chi-shen, Lung Yun, Yu Han-mou and others, most of whom were considered leaders of local military groups, were said to have formally pledged themselves to the seccessionist cause. 7/, 8/ Lo stated that there was also an understanding with the Chinese Communists for a common front. 7/ However, Lo later disavowed Communist connection with the movement. 9/

In September 1944, the Federation was reorganized into the Democratic League, emphasizing the inclusion of independent liberals among its ranks. 10/ It is believed that Lo withdrew his membership from the National Socialist Party previous to this reorganization. 7/

To prevent further aggravation of a growing civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists and to settle the concomitant problems of government and military reorganization, the Political Consultative Conference which included minority party representation was called in January 1946. Lo was a member of the Conference's Government Reorganization and Constitution Drafting Committee. 10/ With his Communist colleagues in the committee, he demanded fourteen out of the forty seats for the Communist Party and the Democratic League in the projected interim State Council and stated that unless this demand was met, it would be very difficult to form a coalition government. 10/ With the deterioration of relations between the Communists and the Kuomintang, Lo later agreed with the Communists in not submitting a list of State Councillors because "so far, the government has failed in ensuring civil rights to the people and in carrying out the PCC resolutions". 12/

In the above-mentioned committee, discussions were also centered about the formation of a National Assembly. In these discussions, Lo thought that the Kuomintang delegates were trying to undermine cooperation with the Communists by claiming that the decisions of the PCC were not in accord with the precepts of Sun Yat-sen. While viewing some of Sun's "Principles" as fallacious, Lo considered the Kuomintang's position of giving the National Assembly the powers of initiative, referendum, election and recall and the Communist position of giving these four powers to the hsien assemblies throughout the country as being equally untenable. He though it "absurd" to suppose that with the present state of illiteracy and apathy of China's population, these powers could be assumed more directly by the people or that the two thousand men proposed for the National Assembly should exercise all these powers. 13/ But to prevent any serious difficulty from arising, he agreed to support a compromise solution which he really considered unsound, involving the division of the four powers to organs representing the respective centralist or decentralist positions of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. 14/

The Kuomintang opened the National Assembly in November 1946 to consider the passage of a constitution. Besides the Kuomintang and some non-partisans, only the less prominent members of the Democratic Socialists and China Youth Parties participated. For its part in the National Assembly, Lo asked the Democratic Socialist Party to resign from the Democratic League. 15/

LO Lung-chi (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

Lo regarded the attempts of the Kuomintang to reorganize the government without the participation of all minority parties as tantamount to making it impossible to reopen peace negotiations with the Communists. 16/ He believed that an all-party conference committed to national unity should be convened to resolve anew the Kuomintang-Communist differences, 17/ but would not oppose amendments to some parts of the PCC resolutions in view of the changed situation. 18/ As prerequisites for the resumption of peace talks in which he desired the Democratic League to mediate, 19/ Lo set forth three conditions: 20/

1. People's freedom must be insured.
2. The government must stop all preparations for a long war.
3. The legal status of all parties must be recognized.

The presence of the United States forces in China, the continuation of American material aid to the Central Government, and the change of American attitude toward the USSR soon after V-J day served as additional targets for Lo's criticisms. He viewed the American role as one of interference with China's sovereignty and independence 21/, 22/ and called a proposed United States loan to China as a "huge burden on the people". 23/ He further asserted that the "stop Russia" agitation in the United States was a major reason for the Chinese Government's stiffening attitude toward the Chinese Communists after the PCC meetings. 24/ While criticizing American aid to the government, as spokesman for the Democratic League at an Anti-Civil War Association meeting, he also declared that "we are decidedly opposed to any country helping any one of the warring factions". 25/

Though he took an active part in the earlier American mediation efforts, Lo appeared to have dropped out of them by September 1946, when he opposed the formation of a new five-man subcommittee headed by Ambassador Stuart. He criticized this subcommittee because the Democratic League did not receive representation and he further felt that the subcommittee reduced the importance of the PCC resolutions and constituted American intervention in China's internal affairs. 26/

Recently he gave as his opinion that the present Chinese Government was completely lacking in prestige or popular support and that a growing body of opinion in China favored a political settlement even on Communist-dictated terms. Feeling that an immediate political solution was the only means to end the civil war, he held that this could not come about as long as the Generalissimo remained in power. In Lo's opinion, many of the military shared this view, so that he thought that there was a possibility of a military coup to oust Chiang Kai-shek. 35/

On the theoretical side, Lo reportedly believes in applying some ideas of Anglo-Saxon democracy and some rudimentary Marxian formulae to the Chinese thesis. 1/ Though his proposed use of these political and economic doctrines to China has been questioned, 1/ the spirit of his thinking on democracy can, perhaps, best be illustrated by a brief paraphrasing of one of his articles: 27/ There is no absolute standard of democracy. Its practice is a product of experience. The United States and Great Britain, far from being perfect democracies, continue to struggle for it. The institution of a National Assembly and the promulgation of a constitution would not eliminate the obstacles to democracy. Even if the National Assembly represented the people and the constitution was correlated with the spirit of the people, there still remains the problem of implementing them. Special service organizations that have no

legal

LO Lung-chi (continued) CHINA

Remarks (continued)

legal status are an obstacle to democracy...China has western 17th and 18th century political rights and 20th century capitalistic exploitation... Believers of democracy should have unity of organization and responsibility. They must be unyielding and patient. They must not look too far ahead, making the beginnings of democracy today, by removing the obstacles to it.

Charges that Lo espouses Marxism are inconclusive, since his earlier writings as a member of the New Moon Set refute Marxian dialectics, 28/ and it has been recently reported that he does not believe in Communism. 3/ Although he has attempted to keep Communist connections at a minimun, 29/ some of his activities have earned him a reputation among certain Kuomintang circles as a pro-Communist. 30/, 31/ Lo's rejoinder is: "I am not pro-Communist; the Communists are pro-Lo Lung-chi." 3/

Lacking in qualities of real leadership, 32/ Lo is smooth-spoken, 33/ quick in debate, direct in conversation and is considered the Democratic League's best public speaker. 3/ He is also reported to be disliked by some members of the Democratic League who claim that he is too egotistical and self-centered. 3/ Some sources think that he is at times given to exaggeration and evasiveness. 9/, 34/ Members of the American press, on the other hand, have had no occasion to doubt his veracity. 3/, 9/

In summarizing, it appears that one of the most noticeable features in Lo's career is the persistence of his efforts to secure recognition for all minority groups by the Central Government. This is exemplified by his criticisms of groups he considers as encouraging the existence of one-party rule; his advocacy of the legalization of all parties; and his advocacy of personal freedom.

Devoid of political and economic dogmatism, his efforts to obtain democracy appear to be guided only by the exigencies of practical politics. His dubious association, in 1944, with a separatist movement consisting in a large measure of local military groups may be interpreted in this light, though the practicality of this act is questionable. The episode nonetheless seem suggestive of Lo's receptive attitude toward the role of force in the attainment of his goal. At present, however, in view of the lack of military backing, he seems to aspire to a mediating role for the Democratic League.

BI:PMoy:mjn June 29, 1947

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1/ MID, R-433-46, Nanking, July 11, 1946, A-1 (Confidential).
2/ D.2797, Chungking, July 22, 1944 (Restricted).
3/ CIG, SO 2995, Shanghai, November 2, 1946, F-2 (Confidential).
4/ China Handbook, 1944.
5/ D. 2181, Chungking, February 17, 1944 (Confidential).
6/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943.
7/ D. 51, Kunming, July 14, 1944 (Secret).
8/ CID, 95517, Kueilin, August 28, 1944 (Secret).
9/ Department of State, Division of Chinese Affairs Memorandum of Conversation, Washington, January 21, 1947 (Confidential).
10/ OSS, YV-1325, Shanghai, March 26, 1946 (Secret).
11/ China Press, Shanghai, March 23, 1946.
12/ FBIB, Daily Report, March 31, 1946.
13/ SSU, A-67194, Shanghai, March 4, 1946, B-2 (Confidential).
14/ SSU, A-67192, Shanghai, March 15, 1946, C-2 (Confidential).
15/ FBIB, Daily Report, November 25, 1946.

16/ Now

16/ New York Times, February 5, 1947.
17/ T. 372, Nanking, February 25, 1947 (Secret).
18/ T. 126, Nanking, January 23, 1947 (Confidential).
19/ New York Times, January 14, 1947.
20/ T. D4042, Nanking, January 25, 1947 (Secret).
21/ MID, R-42-46, Chungking, January 22, 1946.
22/ Sin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, December 30, 1946; Chinese Press Review #237, Shanghai, December 31, 1946.
23/ FBIB, Daily Report, Chungking, March 24, 1946.
24/ New York Herald Tribune, July 6, 1946.
25/ PM, November 20, 1945.
26/ T. 3256, Nanking, September 11, 1946 (Secret).
27/ Lo Lung-chi, "The Road to Democracy is Long", Democratic Weekly, May 3, 1945, Shanghai.
28/ Hsin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai, September 4, 1946; Chinese Press Review #155, Shanghai, September 19, 1946.
29/ CID, 93246, Kunming, August 31, 1944 (Confidential).
30/ Shih Shih Hsin Pao, Shanghai, June 2, 1946; Chinese Press Review #66, Shanghai, June 3, 1946.
31/ FBIB, Daily Report, June 5, 1946.
32/ Department of State, Division of Chinese Affairs Memorandum of Conversation, Washington, February 27, 1947.
33/ Biographic Data Report, Chungking, August 14, 1945 (Confidential).
34/ CID, 102284, Chungking, October 30, 1944 (Secret).
35/ D. 823, Nanking, June 20, 1947 (Secret).

 SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

MA Hsu-lun 馬敘倫 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1884, Hangchow, Chekiang province.

Education: Studied under private tutors.

Political affiliation: Independent.

Career:

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| 1902 | Editor of the New World, Shanghai. |
| 1912 | Secretary to Military Governor of Chekiang and Director of of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. |
| 1913 | Professor in Peking Government University. |
| 1914-1945 | During the regime of Yuan Shih-k'ai, left Peking and joined the independence movement in Chekiang. |
| 1919 | Secretary to Faculty Association, Peking during the May 4th student movement; closely connected with all revolutionary organizations formed by Peking students. |
| 1920-c1922 | Leader of the student movement, Peking; for a time wanted by Hsu Shih-chang, head of the Peking Government. |
| 1922 | Director of Education for Chekiang province. |
| 1922-c1923 | Vice-Minister of Education. |
| 1923 | Chief, Publicity Department of the Kuomintang Office, Peking. |
| 1924 | Reappointed Vice-Minister of Education. |
| 1926 | Forced to flee from Peking because of his agitation against the March 18th student massacre; went to Chekiang and joined forces with Hsia Chao who sent him as his personal representative to the Canton Government. |
| 1927 | Member, Chekiang Political Council and member, Chekiang Administrative Committee;<br>Director, Civil Affairs Bureau. |
| 1928 | Councilor of the National Government;<br>Vice-Minister of Education. |
| 1936 | Professor, National Peking University. |
| 1945-date | One of the leaders of Chinese Democracy Promotion Association. |
| 1946 | While heading a delegation going to Nanking from Shanghai was attacked and beaten in the Nanking Railroad Station, June;<br>Editor of the magazine, Democracy;<br>Secretary, International League for the Promotion of Human Rights, November. |

Remarks:

A scholar and former professor, Ma Hsu-lun has since the war headed the China Democracy Promotion Association, organized shortly after V-J Day in Shanghai. The association merged in February 1947 with the larger Hong Kong Democracy Promotion Association headed by Tsai Ting-kai, former defender of Shanghai. An organization for anti-Kuomintang propaganda, it has been reported to be a Communist front. 1/ Ma himself is characterized by a Chinese source as belonging to no party but as being opposed to

the

MA Hsu-lun (continued)

CHINA

Remarks (continued)

the Kuomintang for its police control and its inefficiency. 2/ Strong featured, he is said to be the personification of an "idealist to whom the accomplishment of his altruistic objectives is the paramount occasion for his existence." He gives the impression of being endowed with the qualities of leadership and of being unswerving in his determination to adhere to his principles, and is also said to imbue one with the feeling that he is honest and sincere in his convictions. 1/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn

June 26, 1947

1/ MA Report, R-104-47, Shanghai, March 4, 1947 (Secret).
2/ SO Report, May 8, 1947 (Confidential).

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

PAN Kuang-tan (Quentin Pan) 潘光旦 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1899, Kiangsu province; married Chao Jui-yun, five children.

Education: Graduate, Tsinghua University; Dartmouth, B.A., 1924; Columbia, M.A., 1926.

Honors, Decorations: Phi Beta Kappa.

Publications: The Problem of the Family in China, 1927; A Genetic Study of Chinese Actors, 1942.

Political affiliation: Member of the Democratic League.

Career:

1928-1934 Editor, China Critic.
1930-date Professor of Sociology, Tsinghua University.
1936-date Dean of Faculties, Tsinghua University.
1945 Editor, Free Forum (periodical of the Chinese Democratic League), Kunming.

Remarks:

Pan Kuang-tan is generally associated with the liberals of China. He was a member of the New Moon set (Hsin Yueh P'ai) which was made up of leading intellectuals in the Chinese literary renaissance in the late 1920's. 1/

He was reportedly among those dismissed from the Tsinghua faculty for expressions of discontent with Chungking policies when Vice-President Wallace was in Kunming. 2/ After taking refuge in the American Consulate in Kunming following the assassinations of Li Kung-po (July 11, 1946) and Wen I-to (July 16, 1946), both members of the Democratic League, Pan returned to academic pursuits at Tsinghua. 3/

BI:PMoy:mjn June 26, 1947

1/ D. 2797, Chungking, July 23, 1944 (Restricted).
2/ OSS, A-37042, Chungking, August 9, 1944 (Secret).
3/ FBIB, Daily Report, August 5, 1946.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

SHEN Chun-ju (Courtesy name: Shen Heng-shan); 沈鈞儒 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1875, Kahsing, Chekiang province; his son-in-law is Fan Ch'ang-chiang, director of the New China News Service and member of the Preparation Committee of the People's Assembly of Liberated Areas.

Education: Obtained his Chin Shih degree during the last years of the Ching Dynasty; passed the provincial scholars' examinations and received the degree of Chu Jen; graduate of Tokyo Law College, Japan.

Political affiliation: Member, National Salvation Association and the Democratic League.

Career:

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|---|---|
| 1911 | Commissioner of Education, Chekiang Provincial Government. |
| 1912-1913 | Senator, Peking Parliament;<br>Chief of the Secretariate of the Senate, Peking Parliament;<br>Procurator-General of the Procuratorate of the Canton Military Government. |
| 1927 | Member and concurrently chief secretary of the Political Council of the Chekiang Provincial Government. |
| 1930- -- | Dean of the Law College and legal practitioner, Shanghai. |
| 1936 | One of the founders of the National Salvation Association. |
| 1936-1937 | Imprisoned in Soochow as a leader of the anti-Japanese movement in Shanghai; released July 1937. |
| 1937 | Member, National Defense Advisory Council, August 1937-June 1938. |
| 1938 | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1938-1946 | Active in the National Salvation Association and later in the Democratic League;<br>Resident of Chungking. |
| 1946 | Delegate, Political Consultative Council (PCC), January;<br>Democratic League representative, Committee to Draft the Constitution, February;<br>Democratic League representative in Shanghai. |
| 1947 | Chairman, Finance Committee, Democratic League, elected January. |

Remarks:

Shen Chun-ju, a lawyer and one of three founders of the National Salvation Association, is a prominent member of the Democratic League. He served on the National Defense Advisory Council, the forerunner to the People's Political Council (PPC) and was a member of the first PPC which met at Hankow in 1938.

In May 1936, Shen and several others formed the National Salvation Association in Shanghai, 1/ an organization of teachers, students, white collar workers and members of women's groups, to promote resistance to Japan. 2/ It was active in staging anti-Japanese demonstrations thus causing the Central Government some embarrassment during the course of the Chang Chun-Kawagoe negotiations (September 15-December 3, 1936) during which the Japanese were trying to secure recognition for their



special

SHEN Chun-ju (continued)

CHINA

Remarks (continued)

special position in North China, demanding a Sino-Japanese front against Communism, and were asking for the suppression of anti-Japanese activities. On November 23, 1936 the Central Government, apparently trying to suppress anti-Japanese and Chinese Communist activity by its own efforts, arrested seven of the officers of the National Salvation Association in Shanghai. In addition to Shen, the group arrested included a prominent Chekiang industrialist, several professors and a well-known writer and editor. These seven were imprisoned at Soochow and their case became somewhat of a "cause celebre". 3/ All seven were finally released in August 1937. 4/ Subsequently Shen became active in the Democratic League and he is at present on its Central Executive Committee. He returned to Shanghai at the close of the war, it was said, to organize the local headquarters of the "Civic Liberties Protection Society". 5/

In March 1947, Shen was one of the signers of a telegram sent by fifty-six prominent Chinese in Shanghai to the Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow urging non-interference in Chinese internal affairs and the immediate withdrawal of troops from China pending the inauguration of a coalition government. 7/ Shen's press statements have been critical of the United States and he has followed the Democratic League in charging the American Government with "deluding the public into believing that peace negotiations were underway" (during the course of Kuomintang-Communist negotiations) "while continuing to fan the flames of civil war". 6/

Though active in the Democratic League and the National Salvation Association, Shen appears to be a person without political following and lacking in the potentialities for political leadership. He was a friend of Wang Ping-nan's, until recently Communist spokesman at Nanking, and his political viewpoint is said to be leftist. A member of the Department who knew Shen describes him as very honest, pleasant and chipper. He is small of statue with a bird-like appearance, and speaks no English. 8/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn

June 23, 1947

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1/ A-71489, May 5, 1946; translation from a history of political parties published by the Universal Publishing Company, edited by Cho Hsi-tao.
2/ ORI #3487, February 7, 1946 (Confidential/Control).
3/ Bisson, T.A., Japan in China, New York, 1938.
4/ Amerasia, April 1943.
5/ Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, February 15, 1946.
6/ Lien Ho Jih Pao, September 3, 1946.
7/ Ta Kung Pao, March 13, 1947.
8/ Information from the Division of Chinese Affairs, June 12, 1947 (Restricted).

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

**TSAI Ting-kai** (Courtesy name: Tsai Hsien-chou) 蔡廷楷 CHINA

**Personal data:** Born 1890, Lotien, Kwangtung province; son of an obscure scholar; married Lo Si-ou.

**Education:** Attended elementary and middle schools and Wuchow Military Academy.

**Political affiliation:** Independent.

**Career:**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | Active in the Revolution. |
| 1912-1915 | Active in campaigns against Yuan Shih-k'ai. |
| 1924-1925 | Participated in campaigns against Ch'en Chiung-ming in the East River region, Kwangtung province. |
| 1926 | Member of Nationalist forces during Northern Punitive Campaign; as Commander of 10th Division of 11th Army under General Chen Ming-shu, marched his troops from Kwangtung to the Yangtse provinces. |
| 1930 | During the Northern Military Coalition in Peiping, took a leading part in the government's campaign against the Northern Forces and recaptured Tsinan from coalition troops under Yen Hsi-shan; in recognition promoted to Commander of the 19th Army and sent to Kiangsi province to stamp out the Communists. |
| 1932 | Fought Japanese in Shanghai; as reward for his services at Shanghai, was given a first class decoration by the National Government and made Commander in Chief of 19th Army and Pacification Commissioner for Fukien province. |
| 1933-1934 | Active in Fukien Independence Movement;<br>Chairman, Military Affairs Commission, Foochow People's Government, November 1933-January 1934. |
| 1934-1935 | Traveled on a round-the-world tour, said to have visited the United States; returned to Hong Kong in April 1935 and lived in retirement there. |
| 1936 | Member, "Chinese People's Revolutionary League", together with Chen Ming-shu and Li Chi-shen;<br>Joined Kwangsi revolt and arrived in Nanning, Kwangsi with thirty officers, August 18. |
| 1937 | Went to Nanking to offer his services to Chiang Kai-shek in the war against Japan, November. |
| 1938-1939 | Commander of 16th Group Army in Kwangsi which defended Nanning against the Japanese, November 1939. |
| 1940 | Commander, 26th Group Army of the 7th War Zone. |
| 1944 | Lived in retirement in Kweilin;<br>Member, Military Council, Canton;<br>Returned to Loting, Kwangtung province, December. |
| 1945 | Active in Self-Defense Corps in Kwangtung province (Corps seems to have been organized 1944 or earlier for conducting activity behind the Japanese lines). |
| 1946-date | Lived in retirement, Kwangtung province, often in Canton; moved to Hong Kong about September 1946 where he was active in the "Democratic Promotion Association." |

Remarks

SECRET

TSAI Ting-kai (continued)

CHINA

Remarks:

A revolutionary military leader who has had no command since 1946, Tsai Ting-k'ai is today living in Hong Kong where he can enjoy more freedom than in China proper. His name has been connected with the "Democratic Promotion Association", an organization called a Communist front organization which he himself describes as composed of "a group of retired officers organized to study politics." 1/ A soldier who worked his way up through the ranks and who fought wholly on the side of the Nationalists until 1933, Tsai is said to have great popular following in Canton and Kwangtung province. His prestige has been extremely high ever since his defense of Shanghai in January 1932 when his 19th Route Army held out against the Japanese for more than a month. This action was said to have been contrary to orders from Nanking whose policy toward the Japanese at the time was not supported by Tsai. 2/ In 1933 Tsai was involved in the short-lived Fukien rebellion when his 19th Route Army gave military support to the civil government of Li Chi-shen. According to one account he, at this time, offered his cooperation to the Communists but his offer was refused on advice from the Comintern. 3/ Other indications that he made overtures to the Communists in 1933 are seen from a conversation Mao Tse-tung had with Edgar Snow in 1936 when Mao said that one of the two errors committed in Chinese Communist campaigns in this period was the failure to unite with Tsai Ting-k'ai's Army. 4/ Again more aggressively anti-Japanese than the Nationalist Government, Tsai was a member of the short-lived Kwangsi revolt which occurred in August 1936 and whose members urged strong resistance to Japan. Though Tsai offered his services to Chiang Kai-shek in November 1937, a report of 1944 states that he was subsequently discredited for alleged sympathy with the Communists. 5/ By 1944 he was living in retirement in Loting, Kwangtung province and had no active command of troops.

Tsai returned to Canton at the close of the war. An attempt seems to have been made to use him to win Li Chi-shen to the Nationalist Government in 1946 when Chang Fa-kuei, on returning from a March military conference in Nanking, called upon the former Fukien rebellion leader and was accompanied by Tsai Ting-k'ai. Later reports stated that both Tsai and Li were invited by Chang to go to Nanking. 6/

Though Tsai has been reported on various occasions to have been connected with the Communists, he fought with the Nationalist forces until 1933 and was sent by Chiang on several expeditions against the Communists in Kiangsi and in Fukien provinces. In the winter of 1927 he led the campaign to suppress the Communist government in Canton and was in control of the city three days after he opened his campaign. A newspaper account of 1932 quotes a statement made by Tsai several years earlier saying "These are my enemies: Communists, Chinese militarists and Japanese imperialists". 7/ Since his departure for Hong Kong, Tsai does not seem to have been very active politically but his prestige in South China is still considerable and should he combine forces with any of the dissident elements there, he might again make trouble for the Central Government.

BI:ABWheeler:mjn

August 27, 1947

1/ FBIB, Daily Report, August 26, 1947.
2/ OSS, R&A 1753, February 26, 1944 (Confidential).
3/ Borkenau, Franz, Communist International, 1938.
4/ Snow, Edgar, Red Star Over China, 1938.
5/ OSS, FE report, May 4, 1944 (Secret).
6/ SSU, YV-1255, Shanghai, March 5, 1946 (Confidential).
7/ New York Times, March 1, 1942.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

TSENG Ch'i 曾琦 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1891, Lingch'ang, Szechuan; married; son-in-law of the late Liang Hun-chih, high official of the Nanking puppet régime; related to Chang Ch'un, Governor of Szechuan; his second wife, Chou Jo-nan, is the daughter of the well-known painter, Chou Chu-chun.

Education: Studied political science and diplomatic relations in Japan for several years and went to France in 1919.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1918-1923 | Member and one of the founders, Young China Study Association. |
| 1923 | Chairman, Chinese Students' Group in France, formed to protect French control of Chinese railroads. |
| 1924 | Elected Chairman at the First Representative Conference of the Young China Party, Paris, January; returned to China, September. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council. |
| 1945- -- | Chairman, Young China Party; Chairman, Political Committee, Young China Party. |
| 1946 | Young China Party Delegate, Political Consultative Conference; member, Committees on Government Reorganization, National Assembly and member of the Joint Steering Sub-committee; member of the Presidium, National Assembly, November. |
| 1947 | Member, State Council, appointed April 17. |

Remarks:

A leader and founder of the Young China Party, Tseng Ch'i was active in the formation of the Young China Society in Japan and the Young China Study Association. He and his associates formed the Young China Society in 1915 as a protest against Japan's Twenty-One Demands. 1/ The Young China Study Association, formed in 1918, was less political in character and was devoted to the study of western thought. 2/ Divergent political elements, including Communists, were members of the Association. In 1923, as a student in France, Tseng, Li Huang and others formally organized the Young China Party. Objecting to the Chinese Youth Communist Group, also organized in Paris by Li Li-san, for its tenets of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, the Young China group maintained that such movements would provide no remedy for China's crisis. 1/, 3/

Tseng was elected Chairman at the party's first representative conference in Paris and the founders of the party published the Herald Weekly to propagandize for Chinese nationalism. Returning to China in September 1924, Tseng, Li Huang, and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien published the Hsing Shih Weekly (Awakened Lion) in Shanghai. 3/

While very little information is available concerning Tseng's activities during the intervening years between the organization of the Young China Party and the Japanese invasion of China, his party appears to have acted in opposition to the Kuomintang. It opposed the Kuomintang's Northern Expeditionary Army because it considered that Army an army of rebellion and cooperated with the northern militarists, Sun Ch'uan-fang,

Remarks (continued)

and cooperated with Sun Ch'uan-fang, Wu Pei-fu, Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-ch'ang. Refusing the Kuomintang's invitation to attend the National Emergency Conference in 1932 on the grounds that the Kuomintang would not end its one-party rule, however, Tseng and his associates of the Young China Party became members of the People's Political Council shortly after the provisional National Congress summoned by the Kuomintang in 1938. 3/

Tseng's wartime activities are obscure, but Communist sources accused him of dealings with the Nanking puppet regime. According to a Communist report, Tseng represented the Generalissimo in concluding an agreement whereby the Nationalist Government was to surrender various units of the Nationalist army to the Japanese with the understanding that these armies would be used to fight the Communists. The surrender of such Kuomintang generals as Sun Liang-cheng, Sun T'ien-ying, Chang Lan-feng, Wu Hua-wen and others to the Japanese was said to have been pursuant to this agreement. The Far Eastern Cultural Society which was presumably the organization through which the agreement was made, was said to have been organized by Tseng in Nanking. According to this source, the Communists discovered this situation early in 1946 and threatened to publicize it, with the result that the Generalissimo ordered the organization to disband. Tseng was said to have ordered the assassination of all men who have worked under him in order to insure the anonymity of the organization and its affairs. 4/

Although it is not certain that these alleged activities were a source of embarrassment to him, another Communist source attributes Tseng's withdrawal from a PCC Joint Steering Sub-committee meeting to Communist criticism of Tseng's having gone "to puppet Nanking at one time." 5/ Tseng, on the other hand, justified his withdrawal by declaring that "in consultations rational rather than abusive language should be used...It was not possible ...to participate in the discussions in the face of such unreasonable attitude." 6/

His declaration of withdrawal from the China Democratic League in 1945, 3/ leading to separate representation in the Political Consultative Conference apparently heralded a period of closer cooperation with the Kuomintang, culminating in the party's participation in the National Assembly and the present Government reorganization. However, in contrast to reactionary elements in the Kuomintang, Tseng and his associates continue to emphasize the necessity for a political solution of the Kuomintang-Communist issues, 7/ recognition of all political parties, liquidation of Kuomintang tutelage,, and reorganization of local governments on a basis similar to American federalism. 8/, 9/, 10/

A factional dispute within the Young China Party over the method of nominating delegates to the National Assembly developed during the summer of 1946. Tseng, Li Huang and Tso Shun-sheng, who were called members of the pro-Kuomintang "Elder" or "Szechuan" groups of the party, were "ousted" by a dissenting group. 11/ Besides the question of nominating delegates to the National Assembly, it was reported that differences arose over the distribution of party funds. Tseng's reported close association with Kuomintang officials in Shanghai and the subsequent political promises made by these officials were said to have led to Tseng giving preferential treatment to the "Elder" or "Szechuan" group in the party. 12/ While no reports have been received concerning the present postion of the dissenting group, it seems apparent that Tseng and his associates are well in control of the party.

BI:PMoy:mjn

April 21, 1947

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1/ D.330

TSENG Ch'i (continued) CHINA

1/ DD, 30, June 18, 1944, Chengtu (Confidential).
2/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943.
3/ SSU A-71486, May 5, 1946, Shanghai. Source is a translation from a history of political parties published by the Universal Publishing Company and edited by Cho Hsi-t'ao (Restricted).
4/ SSU A-69826, June 25, 1946. Source is Chinese Communist Liaison Officer, C-4 (Secret).
5/ Hsin Hua News Agency via Chungking (sic) radio, April 4, 1946. Source is Wang Jo-fei.
6/ Central News Agency, April 3, 1946, Shanghai.
7/ Hsin Min Pao, Peiping, September 7, 1946. Chinese Press Review #140, September 7, 1946, Peiping.
8/ Hsin Min Pao, Chungking, January 18, 1946. Chinese Press Review #359, January 18, 1946, Chungking.
9/ Shih Shih Hsin Pao, Chungking, December 26, 1945. Chinese Press Review #340, December 26, 1945, Chungking.
10/ SSU YY-1325, March 26, 1946, Shanghai (Secret).
11/ Chinese Press Reviews #127, 128, August 14-15, 1946.
12/ SSU A-71493, September 1946, Shanghai. Source is an editor of the Shanghai Hsin Min Wan Pao, F-3 (Restricted).

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

TSO Shun-sheng 左舜生 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1895, Changsha, Hunan.

Education: Graduate, University of Lyon, France.

Publications: Compiler of Chinese Historical Episodes in the Past Century.

Political affiliation: China Youth Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Professor at Fuhtan University;<br>Member, Central Political Institute. |
| 1937 | Member, National Defense Advisory Council. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council (PPC) from Hunan province;<br>Member of the Presidium, 1942;<br>Resident member, appointed September 18, 1944. |
| 1941-1945 | Active in the Federation of Democratic Parties and the Democratic League;<br>Secretary, Executive Committee of the Federation, April 1943;<br>Secretary-General of the Democratic League, 1944;<br>Acting President, March 1945;<br>Withdrew from the League, 1945. |
| 1943 | Member, Constitutional Government Committee, appointed October. |
| 1945 | Editor, Min Hsien (Democratic Constitution), published by the Democratic League;<br>Member, Seven-man Committee sent to Yenan for negotiations with the Communists, July. |
| 1946 | Publisher, Chung Hua Shih Pao (China Times), Shanghai;<br>China Youth Party delegate to the National Assembly, November. |
| 1947 | Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, appointed April 22. |

Remarks:

Tso Shun-sheng, recently made Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, 1/ holds one of the new Chinese Cabinet posts given to the China Youth Party. He was a member of the Young China Study Association in 1918 and was one of the founders of the China Youth Party, first organized among Chinese students in France in 1923. He was active in organizing the Federation of Democratic Parties in 1941 and played a leading role in the Democratic League which was reorganized from the Federation in 1944. 2/ He has campaigned for democratic reform in the Chinese Government and urged the end of one-party rule. Speaking at a meeting of the Constitutional Promotion Association in 1944 he asked that a coalition government be formed and that there be no more "illegal arrests and secret trials". 2/

Though Tso was made a resident member of the PPC in September 1944 and attended the meetings of the Fourth Council held in the fall of 1945 he seems to have boycotted the Second Plenary Session of the Fourth Council held in March 1946. 4/ This was the position taken by all Demo-

cratic

TSO Shun-sheng (continued)

CHINA

Remarks (continued)

cratic League members except Carson Chang and Huang Yen-pei. In November 1946 Tso was a China Youth Party delegate to the National Assembly and presided over the fourth general meeting as Acting Chairman. 5/

In July 1946 reports indicated a factional split in China Youth Party ranks when, at a party meeting, Chou Chi-tao was said to have been elected chairman of the Central Committee. According to this report, Tseng Chi, Tso and Li Huang were then ousted from the party. Later Tseng Chi stated that such a meeting had not been legal. 6/ There have been no further reports concerning this split, Tso, Li and Tseng continued in actual control of the China Youth Party, and the present position of Chou Chi-tao in the party is not known. However, a report of September 1945 indicated that Tseng Chi, Tso and Li Huang had long been opposed by Chou Chi-tao and his more liberal followers. The characterization of Tso's group as "the pro-Kuomintang, elder, Szechuan clique" was again brought out in a recent cable which described them as "a group of Szechuan scholar-landlords who have tended in the past to be affiliated with the right wing of the Kuomintang". 8/

In the last two months Tso has several times acted as spokesman for the China Youth Party regarding its entrance into the government.

He has been called "an opportunist who will go to whichever side can offer him most advantages". 7/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn

April 27, 1947

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1/ FBIB Wire, April 23, 1947 (Restricted).
2/ Amerasia, April 25, 1943.
3/ Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, Chungking, November 3, 1944.
4/ SSU, A-68477, Shanghai, April 12, 1946, B-2 (Secret).
5/ FBIB, Daily Report, December 2, 1946.
6/ Chinese Press Reviews #127, August 14 and #128, August 15, 1946.
7/ SSU, A-71493, Shanghai, September 30, 1946 (Restricted); interview with an editor of the Shanghai Hsin Min Wan Pao (F-3).
8/ T. 851, Nanking, April 20, 1947 (Secret).

RESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

WU Hsien-tzu 伍憲子 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1881, Shunte, Kwangtung province.

Political affiliation: Democratic Socialist.

Career:

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|---|---|
| c1907 | Journalist managing papers in Hongkong, South Sea Islands and America. |
| ---- | Civil Affairs Commissioner in Kwangtung and Hupeh provinces during the early years of the Republic. |
| 1915 | Gave up post as Civil Affairs Commissioner in protest against Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to restore the monarchy. |
| 1946 | Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party. |
| 1947 | Member, State Council, appointed April 17. |

Remarks:

Wu Hsien-tzu, the Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party and one of its Hongkong representatives, began his career in the field of journalism at the age of twenty-six. For most of his journalistic career he was associated with the scholar Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, he and Liang both being students of the late K'ang Yu-wei. Kang and Liang founded the Democratic Constitutional Society (Min Chu Hsien Cheng Hui) in the early years of the Republic and Wu soon became a member. After the death of K'ang and Liang, he became the leader of the Society which merged with the National Socialist Party in August 1946. 1/

Wu was accused in December 1945 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of having collaborated with the Japanese by holding a post as member of the supervisory committee of the puppet Nanking government. The Democratic Socialist Party, however, has protested the charges as absolutely groundless. 2/

Regarding the internal conflict in the Democratic Socialist Party which arose over the question of participation in the National Assembly, Wu said that he objected to participation originally hoping that by postponing the Assembly it would be possible to get the Communists to participate. But when it appeared that the Communists would not, he was willing to forego his own stand. As regards participation in the reorganized government, he agreed with Carson Chang that the party should participate but not take part in the Executive Yuan or in local governments. 1/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn May 9, 1947

1/ MID, R-244-47, Nanking, April 30, 1947 (Restricted).
2/ China Daily News, New York, December 22, 1945.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

YEN Yang-chu (Yen, James, Y.C.) 晏陽初 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1893, Szechuan province; married Miss Huie, American born, half Chinese; three children.

Education: Studied at the China Inland Mission School of Western Learning at Paoning; B.A., Yale, 1918; M.A., Princeton, 1920.

Religion: Christian.

Languages: Fluent English.

Honors: Honorary M.A., Yale, 1928; Honorary Doctor of Science, St. John's University, Shanghai, 1929.

Publications: Educating China's Millions for Democracy, 1925; The Chinese Farmer's Part in National Resistance and China's Rural Reconstruction, 1928; The Ting Hsien Experiment, 1930.

Political affiliation: Rural Reconstructionist.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | With his associates worked out a course of study based on one thousand characters upon which the Mass Education Movement was later based. |
| 1918 | Served as Secretary, Y.M.C.A. in France where he taught the personnel of the Chinese labor corps the rudiments of written Chinese;<br>Founded the Chinese Laborer's Weekly. |
| 1920-1924 | Secretary, National Committee, Y.M.C.A. |
| 1928 | Founder and Director, Mass Education Experimental Station at Tinghsien, Hopei province. |
| 1931 | Member, National Economic Council. |
| 1933 | President, Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction. |
| 1935 | Chairman, North China Council for Rural Reconstruction. |
| 1936 | Vice-President, Szechuan Provincial Planning Commission. |
| 1937 | Councillor, Supreme National Defense Council. |
| 1938 | Director, Hunan Provincial School of Public Administration. |
| 1938-date | Member, People's Political Council (PPC). |
| 1943 | Lectured in the US and raised funds for his Mass Education Movement. |
| 1944 | Lectured at Havana University, Cuba and in South America. |
| 1945 | Chairman, Citizen's Education Committee, Ministry of Education, staying in the US. |
| 1946 | Returned to Changsha, Hunan province to start film training program for mass education;<br>Non-partisan representative, National Assembly, November-December. |
| 1947 | Worked in Mass Education Movement, Szechuan province with headquarters near Chungking. |

Remarks

SECRET

YEN Yang-chu (continued)

CHINA

Remarks:

James Yen is China's foremost expert in the field of mass education. But though his importance has been as an educator, his speeches and activities are not without political implications. Maintaining that the "only way to make the world safe for democracy is by spreading it", 1/ he considers that China's four main problems are: ignorance, poverty, disease and misgovernment. 2/ Hence, his concept of mass education is an overall plan which in addition to setting up a program to remove illiteracy includes a course of instruction in administration, agricultural economy, sanitation and health.

Yen perhaps first came to his interest in popular education through his Y.M.C.A. work with Chinese laborers in France at the end of World War I when one of his assignments was to write letters from illiterate workers to their families in China. Here he soon realized the need for simplifying the written Chinese and developed a sort of basic Chinese which used only a thousand characters. In order to furnish reading material for his students he founded the Chinese Laborer's Weekly which was printed in these one thousand characters comprising the words most commonly used everyday speech. 3/

Returning to Peking in 1925 he worked out a plan for a project of rural education and reconstruction and by 1928 had gained support for it from Chinese banks and such international philanthropic organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation. The project set up at Tinghsien, Hopei province was very successful and by the time of the Japanese invasion was organizing to hold the first democratic local elections in China. The experiment was considered of such importance that when its headquarters were forceably moved to Hunan in 1938, Chang Chih-chung, provincial governor, appointed Yen to organize the province along the same lines as at Tinghsien. A year later the Generalissimo gave him the equivalent of a million dollars (American) to develope the system throughout China. 4/ The political aspects of this work have been largely promoted by Yen's followers such as Liang Shu-ming who formed the Rural Reconstruction Society, one of the six minor parties making up the Democratic League.

Yen has further capabilities as a publicity man and fund raiser. He is said to have a good sense of the dramatic and to organize his publicity campaigns very well. During one of his American visits he is credited with having raised for his rural education program a half a million dollars (American) from private philanthropical organizations and from American businessmen including Henry Ford. 2/

In February 1947 it was reported that Dr. Yen was actively promoting a new plan, which he had recently discussed with Chiang Kai-shek and T.V. Soong, for the establishment of mass education centers in four selected areas, including one in Communist-controlled territory, to demonstrate what the government could do to aid the common people, and to provide a constructive outlet for the energies of idealistic students. 5/ Fulfilling plans reported in February, Dr. Yen came to the United States later in the spring, and was stated in Time, of May 19, 1947, to have obtained money from publisher Marshall Field for the purpose of building a people's press to provide cheap books in "Basic Chinese."

Not over five feet in height, he is slight of build. He speaks several Chinese dialects as well as fluent English. 6/

BI:ABWheeler:mjn

February 29, 1947

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Life

YEN Yang-chu (continued)

CHINA

1/ Life Magazine, July 10, 1944.
2/ Current Biography, July 7, 1946.
3/ Asia and the Americas, Special Section, Vol. XLV, January 1, 1945.
4/ The Reader's Digest, November 1943.
5/ D. 509, Nanking, February 18, 1947 (Secret).
6/ Time Magazine, November 22, 1943.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Division of Biographic Information

"YÜ Chia-chü" (Courtesy name: Yu Chung-tao) 余家菊 CHINA

Personal data: Born 1899, Huangpei, Hupeh.

Education: Chung Hua University, Wuchang; Peiping Normal College, Peiping; Research Fellow, London University, 1922.

Publications: History of Education (Chinese language), Shanghai, 1934.

Political affiliation: Young China Party.

Career:

| | |
|---|---|
| -- - -- | Professor, Wuchang University, Peiping University and South Eastern University;<br>Head, Department of Education, National Honan University. |
| -- - -- | Founder, together with Li Huang, Tseng Ch'i, and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ieng, of Shao Nien Chung Kuo Tsa Chih (Young China Magazine), before 1923. |
| 1923-date | Member, Young China Party, founded December 1923;<br>member, Central Standing Committee, Young China Party. |
| 1938-date | Member, Group D, People's Political Council, representing the Young China Party. |
| 1946 | Young China Party delegate to Political Consultative Council, January;<br>Young China Party representative on the Committee for the Draft Constitution, February;<br>Young China Party representative, 8th Annual Conference of the China Agricultural Association, October;<br>Delegate, National Assembly, November. |
| 1947 | Member, State Council, appointed April 17. |

Remarks:

"Yü Chia-chü", one of the leaders of the Young China Party, is described as a theorist and close associate of Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien and Li Huang, 1/ who are leaders of the pro-Kuomintang "Elder" clique in the Young China Party. 2/ A recent press report justifying Young China Party participation in the government mentioned that leaders, including Yü, had lived in great poverty several years ago. 3/

BI:CJNelson:mjn May 13, 1947

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1/ Chinese source, Chungking, 1943.
2/ SSU, A-7149, Shanghai, September 30, 1946 (Restricted); interview with editor, Hsin Min Wan Pao, Shanghai.
3/ Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, January 28, 1947.